

Full Metal Jacket:
Kubrick counters
Namnesia

IN THESE TIMES

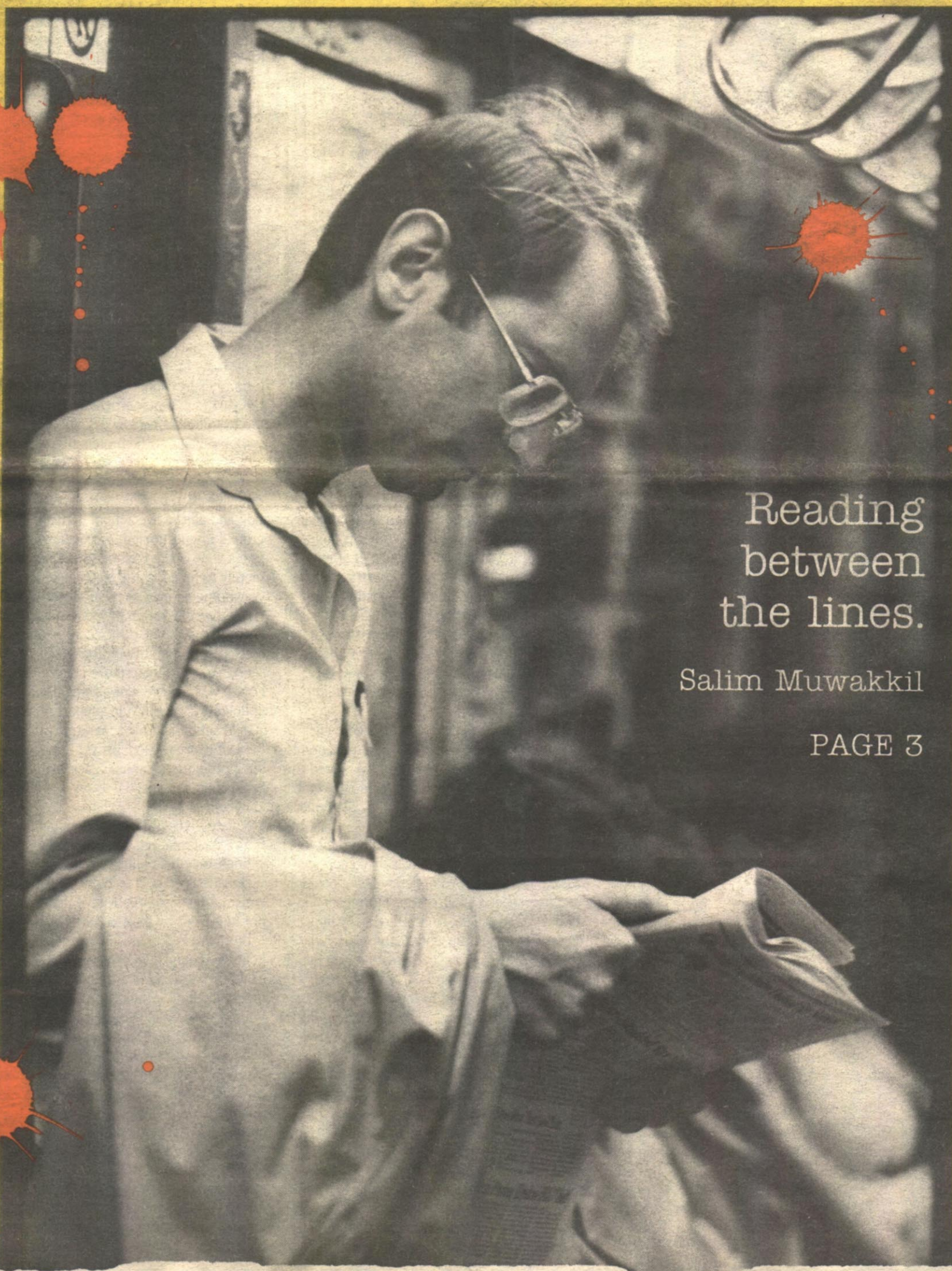
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PAGE 21

The Goetz Verdict



Reading
between
the lines.

Salim Muwakkil

PAGE 3

If Bork is confirmed, he won't let Reagan down



IN SHORT STORY

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

Supreme Court nominees often confound the expectations of the presidents who nominate them. Felix Frankfurter disappointed Franklin Roosevelt and Earl Warren disappointed Dwight Eisenhower. But if Robert H. Bork is confirmed, he is unlikely to disappoint Ronald Reagan.

Unlike Antonin Scalia, whom Reagan appointed to the

bench in 1986, Bork is not simply a jurist whose constitutional views happen now to coincide with conservative political positions. Over the past 25 years, his constitutional views have evolved in tandem with his conservative political views. It may be unfair to characterize Bork as a "conservative ideologue," but it is even more misleading to see him as a person independent of political conservatism.

Classic liberalism: Bork became a conservative in the early '50s, when he studied under Aaron Director at the University of Chicago Law School. Director, the brother-in-law of Milton Friedman, saw himself as a "classical" or "laissez-faire" liberal. Like Friedman, Director idealized a market society in which individuals freely traded their wares and their labor-power, and he opposed whatever disturbed the equilibrium of the market, from labor unions to government intervention.

As Director's pupil, Bork came to oppose the legislative and social products of post-Depression America. He looked askance at labor unions and at the interest-group model of politics and policy introduced by Roosevelt's New Deal. And he viewed the civil rights movement's attempt to outlaw discrimination in public accommodations as an attack upon individuals' right to dispose of their property in any way they saw fit. As a professor at Yale Law School, Bork became an authority on anti-trust legislation, opposing government attempts to stem the merge mania of the '60s as an infringement upon business' property rights.

Bork's political thought became set during the turmoil of the late '60s. In a series of essays for *Fortune* and the *New Republic*, he spelled out a political theory that antipated Reagan conservatism. In a June 1968 article in the *New Republic*, Bork explained his support for Nixon in terms of a contrast between his own classical liberalism, which he attributed to Nixon, and the "collectivist liberalism" of Democrats Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy. Collectivist liberalism, Bork wrote, "is an increasingly self-defeating philosophy because it attempts to achieve liberal goals through flatly inconsistent, illiberal means: statism; legal coercion as a substitute for voluntary action; central planning of economic and social relations." Bork identified the dread collectivism with "vastly increased welfare payments" (which, he pointed out, had failed to stem ghetto riots), increases in the minimum wage and Democratic "support of special interest groups."

In a 1963 *New Republic* article, Bork opposed a civil-rights bill forbidding discrimination in hotels, restaurants and other public places. Although he later repudiated this position, he took virtually the same position in a December 1968 *Fortune* article, in which he attacked the Supreme Court in *Reitman vs. Mulkey* for striking down a California provision that guaranteed property owners the right to sell or lease their property to whomever they chose.

Bork's classical liberalism also underlay his opposition to unregulated free speech by groups or movements. In a December 1971 *Fortune* article, he attacked both the new left and the labor movement for undermining the rule of law. When the law is invoked in "certain strikes by public employees" and in "student disorders," Bork wrote, "domestic law begins to descend to the status of international law, which means that we begin to recognize the independence, the semi-sovereignty, of various warring groups within the society."

Judicial restraint: Bork's theory of judicial restraint, upon which the entire edifice of conservative jurisprudence rests, was partly derived from his classical liberalism. Conservatives of the '50s like Bork or Friedman saw the Warren Court as representing the triumph of interest-group politics over judicial and constitutional principle. In his 1968 *Fortune* article, Bork attacked the Warren court for turning the court into a "superlegislature" on behalf of certain "interest groups."

Bork's constitutional alternative was a philosophy of

"judicial restraint" in which the Supreme Court "should defer to the will of representative institutions." Thus, Bork opposed the Supreme Court's striking down the California anti-discrimination law on grounds of both classical liberalism and judicial restraint.

During the '70s, however, Bork's theory of judicial restraint took on a life of its own and became eventually what he came to call "interpretivism." In 1968 he had been wary of attempts to derive rulings simply from close study of the Constitution. "It is naive to suppose that the Court's present difficulties could be cured by appointed justices determined to give the Constitution its 'true meaning,'" Bork wrote.

But in the '70s he propounded a theory that justices should confine themselves to "enforcing norms that are stated or are clearly implicit in the written Constitution." In the '80s Bork began to speak of justices' deriving their rulings directly from "the framers' intentions." His theory of original intent became the official doctrine of the Reagan Justice Department.

Bork's new theory of judicial restraint provided him and conservatives with a weapon against the major court decisions of the '70s. He charged that the "right to privacy" adduced by the Court to justify the 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* abortion ruling had no basis in the Constitution itself. He dismissed the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule as an unjustified application of the admittedly ambiguous 14th Amendment guaranteeing equal protection under the law. As an Appeals Court judge he ruled in 1984 that the Constitution did not protect homosexuals against discrimination.

He also argued that the Constitution protected only explicitly political speech. In a 1971 *Indiana Law Journal* article, he wrote, "Constitutional protection should be accorded only to speech that is explicitly political. There is no basis for judicial intervention to protect any other form of expression." Bork later modified his position in replying to a *Nation* article by Jamie Kalven, but he continues to hold a narrow definition of the First Amendment—ruling out the protection of revolutionary speech and of what he defines as obscenity and pornography.

His theory of judicial restraint is by no means simply a rationalization by which conservatives can oppose abortion and affirmative action. Bork appears to be on solid ground in questioning the cogency of *Roe vs. Wade*. But in his view of the First or 14th Amendments, he appears merely to be using the incompleteness or ambiguity of constitutional provisions as a pretext to wage war against collectivist liberalism or modern feminism.

Defeating Bork: Bork's confirmation could solidify a conservative majority on the bench. Bork is rigidly conservative precisely in those areas where former Justice Powell was flexible. Powell was the court's swing vote in upholding key rulings in support of abortion rights, affirmative action and the separation of church and state. In the last court session, his vote was the difference in backing a promotion plan for black Alabama state troopers. Bork could be expected to reverse the majority in these kinds of cases.

Senate Democrats will have a difficult time blocking Bork's confirmation. They cannot impugn his legal qualifications, only his political views and his role in firing Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox. And many constitutional experts believe that court nominees should not be judged by their politics.

But there is a precedent for denying confirmation on political grounds. In 1968 what was called a "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats, including the South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond and present White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker, blocked the nomination of Justice Abe Fortas, Lyndon Johnson's nominee to replace Earl Warren as the chief justice.

Conservatives partly disguised their opposition by charging Fortas with secretly advising Johnson while he was on the bench, but it was obvious that their real grounds for opposing him were political. Republican Minority Leader Everett Dirksen acknowledged that he cast the deciding vote because he disagreed with Fortas' ruling in a death-penalty case. At the time Republicans exulted in their triumph, believing that they had laid the groundwork for a repudiation of the Warren Court, but now they may regret the precedent that they set. □

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Bork's political conservatism	2
The aftershock of the Goetz case	3
In Short	4-5
Pentagon official linked to secret drug network	6
What if a left economist ran the Fed?	7
Behind the pope's meeting with Waldheim	8
Latin America: Debt, markets, reality	8
Paralyzed peace talks in Central America	9
Bolivia: Peasants pay price for U.S. war on drugs	11
The Constitution at 200	12-13
Editorials	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Barbie and South America	16
Ashes & Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
In Print: Forgotten Renaissance man Claude McKay	18
Charlie Parker soars	19
In the Arts: Asian film festival	20
Strapping on <i>Full Metal Jacket</i>	21
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
CIA's bad acid trips	24

By Salim Muwakkil

NEW YORK

A FEW DAYS FOLLOWING THE ACQUITTAL OF Bernhard H. Goetz on charges that he attempted to murder four black youths, a group of black leaders here decided to form a city-wide patrol to protect young black males from trigger-happy whites who may be inspired to emulate the actions of the "subway vigilante."

New York Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, who is black, promptly condemned that approach as inflammatory and insisted that anyone armed and on the prowl for targets in the city's underground transportation system would be expeditiously locked up, regardless of their race or sense of social obligation.

Such heated confrontations are symptomatic of the intense passions provoked by the June 16 verdict in the seven-week trial that ended with the release and virtual exoneration of Goetz.

New York's black leaders, notorious for their fractiousness and turf rivalries, are virtually unanimous in their condemnation of the verdict that exonerated Goetz on all but one of the 13 charges he faced from the December 1984 shootings. He was charged with 10 major felonies, including attempted murder, assault and reckless endangerment. After the trial in Manhattan's State Supreme Court, the jury of eight men and four women—10 white and two black—deliberated for 32 hours and found the 39-year-old electrical engineer guilty only of illegally possessing the weapon used to shoot the youths he believed intended to rob him.

David N. Dinkins, the Manhattan borough president, said the verdict issues "a clear and open invitation to vigilanteism." He said that even if the four youths who confronted Goetz "were guilty of robbery they would not have been shot for it under our system of justice." Dinkins, who is black, said he was badly "shaken and disturbed" by the jury's decision.

"I believe that this decision will increase the number of white attacks on blacks, and there is going to be retaliation and an escalation of racial conflict," said Rev. Herbert Daughtry, president of the African Peoples' Christian Organization. The criminal justice system is affirming "the venerable American tradition that a black man has no rights which a white man is bound to respect," Daughtry noted.

"The jury verdict was inexcusable," added NAACP chief Benjamin L. Hooks Jr. "I think it was a terrible miscarriage of justice."

Variations on that theme were echoed by most of the city's black leadership. Many contended that a double standard of justice was apparent in the verdict. "I think that if a black had shot four whites, the cry for the death penalty would have been almost automatic," said Rep. Floyd Flake (D-NY). But blacks aren't alone in questioning the verdict.

"An inarguably sensible and sober jury panel has convicted Bernhard Goetz for feloniously possessing a deadly weapon and acquitted him of using it to shoot four people," wrote *Newsday* columnist Murray Kempton. "Are we then to take it that carrying an unlicensed pistol is a crime up until the moment you pull the trigger?" Kempton placed the blame for this manifest illogic on the law's perplexities and the legal uncertainties regarding the use of deadly force in



The Goetz verdict: Will whites view it as a "clear and open invitation to vigilanteism"?

Goetz decision increases danger of racial conflict

self-defense.

Reasonable deadly force: New York law permits the use of deadly force if a person reasonably believes a physical attack or robbery is imminent. The law also requires that deadly force must cease once the danger of attack has passed, and it strictly prohibits acts of revenge. But all this depends on the subjective judgment of the potential victim. Thus there are no clear rules governing the use of such drastic action.

It is that lack of clarity that so enrages and frightens black leaders. The verdict appears to expand the boundaries within which deadly force can be justified. With fear of subway crime justifiably at an all-time high, many of these leaders warn that the Goetz verdict may encourage people to act on their fears with deadly force whether or not those fears are reasonable. And since many New Yorkers associate crime with young black men, "the verdict," said Daughtry, "could well be the announcement of open season on all young black males."

According to a strict reading of the law, Goetz is guilty. "It was proven—according to his own statements—that Goetz did the shooting and went far beyond the realm of self-defense," the NAACP's Hooks told the *New York Times*. "There was no provocation for what he did." During the trial no evidence was presented that any of the youths who approached Goetz had attempted to rob him before he shot them. But Goetz, who was mugged once before, said he believed the four had larcenous intent.

"When I saw what they intended for me, my intention was worse than shooting," Goetz said on a taped confession played during the trial. "My intention was to do anything I could do to hurt them. My intention...I know this sounds horrible, but my intention was to murder them, to hurt them, to make them suffer as much as possible."

Goetz said he pulled a .38-caliber pistol out of a "quick-draw" waist holster and fired five bullets, hitting Darrell Cabey, Troy Canty, Barry Allen and James Ramseur with four of them. One bullet missed its target and, luckily, other passengers in the subway car. Cabey was left paralyzed and brain damaged; the three others have recovered from their wounds.

"Here's another": Prosecution witness Christopher Boucher testified that he witnessed Goetz shoot three of the youths and then walk over to Cabey, who was sitting down, and fire the bullet that severed his spinal cord.

On his confession tape, Goetz corroborated Boucher's testimony. He told police that he said, "I see you seem to be all right, here's another," and fired a shot into Cabey.

The sense of anxiety in New York City is almost palpable. The glitz of lower Manhattan, with its booming real estate market, does little to dissipate the tension.

In the taped confession, he added, "If I was a little more under self-control...I would have put the barrel against his forehead and fired. If I had had more [bullets], I would have shot them again and again."

Despite this damning admission, the jury rejected the charge of attempted murder. In so doing, it seemed to be saying that urban dwellers' fear of crime can affect emotions so dramatically it can cause behavior that would normally be considered unreasonable. Goetz' perception of danger apparently

was justification enough for the jury to warrant his shooting of four young black males who, although he couldn't have known it at the time, all had extensive criminal records.

"The jury decided that no man is reasonable when he's surrounded by four thugs," said Alan Dershowitz, professor of law at Harvard Law School. Dershowitz said he believed that Goetz' actions were, by definition, illegal. But he noted that jury rulings often nullify standards set by the law. Four of the jurors had been crime victims and several others said friends and relatives had been victims. Their decision seemed to be in part a commentary on the sorry state of the criminal justice system.

"The verdict tells us something about the public's disposition to regard people as justified when they use force to reassert or to gain control over their own space and autonomy," said George Fletcher, a professor of criminal law at Columbia University who monitored the trial from start to finish and is writing a book about the case. "I think it's clear that the jury had enormous sympathy for that."

But there was little sympathy for Goetz' black victims. For the most part, the mainstream press portrayed Goetz as the embodiment of white fears, white rage and white vengeance. The four black youths were given typical underclass coverage. "The press never portrayed them as real human beings," explained William Kunstler, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights, which has filed a lawsuit for Cabey against Goetz.

Kunstler said that while Goetz was publicly presumed innocent at the beginning of the trial, the four youths were presumed to be criminals. "The defense bothered less with specific details of the shooting than with conveying the message that these young men deserved to die," the long-time civil rights lawyer told *In These Times*.

In Kunstler's view, the verdict's message is clear to the white community. "Whites are told that it is now lawful for them to capitulate to their own fears, and that complex problems of crime and poverty can be dealt with by blasting away." Whites, Kunstler said, are free to shoot at the people they fear, confident that they'll have a jury that shares those fears.

The aftermath: The sense of anxiety in this city is almost palpable. The glitz of lower Manhattan, with its booming real estate market and expanding yuppie population, does little to dissipate the tense atmosphere blanketing the city. In fact, the widening chasm between that wealth and the relentless poverty of communities like Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, the South Bronx and Brownsville is helping to generate the racially charged climate.

In the wake of the Goetz verdict, many of the city's black leaders are urging their constituents to be wary of gun-toting white avengers. Daughtry said the ruling could well precipitate a "long hot summer" of racially motivated violence against minorities, and he urged black New Yorkers to "intensify their efforts toward self-defense."

Rev. Al Sharpton, a vocal and visible presence at most black protest gatherings here, has begun a recruitment drive in churches across the city for black men to patrol the subways. "Now that it's clear that white folks can do what Goetz did and get away with it,

Continued on page 22

INSHORT

Joel Bleifuss

Promulgating concern and dollars

"Locked in bamboo cages in the jungle, in caves in the mountains, some of our men are used as slaves, forced to drag plows in rice paddies," writes Charlton Heston as he asks the reading postal patron to help former Rep. John LeBoutillier (R-NY) "locate and bring these men home." LeBoutillier is chairman and president of "Skyhook II Project" of Old Westbury, N.Y. The men LeBoutillier is concerned about are "American fighting men"—men who "are still being held captive in the jungles of Southeast Asia." He wants "Americans who would never stand idly by and let U.S. soldiers and airmen continue to rot in stinking jungle cages" to send "many thousands of dollars" and help him "launch our mission" to get a "few bedraggled POWs out of the filthy hell in which they're hidden." But what is this mission? According to documents *In These Times* obtained from the Office of Charities Registration in New York, LeBoutillier raised \$332,861 last year. He spent \$533,236 of that money on management and fundraising. Another \$294,368 went to "secure humane treatment of, status information and accountability" for the POW/MIAs and "to promulgate concern." Besides money, LeBoutillier says the mission's success must also depend on "expert planners" who "might have to equip anti-communist rebels" and "bribe border guards" to get "two or three Americans out of those hidden horror camps." Well, there is no denying that Skyhook II Project has both civilian muscle and military might. The group's advisory board includes Yankees' manager Billy Martin, baseball great Willie Mays, Texas A&M football coach Jackie Sherrill (and a pack of other pigskin powers), Star Wars cheerleader Ret. Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, roving counterrevolutionary Ret. Maj. Gen. John Singlaub and, lest we forget, boxing champion Rocky Graziano.

Cracks in the crystal globe

Have you ever wondered what people who study the world's future fear most? The World Future Society of Bethesda, Md., a group dedicated to promoting the study of the future, has surveyed future-oriented speculation and has come up with a list of "major worries" for 1987. In fifth place is "instability in Mexico leading to economic, political and social crises." In fourth, but favored for first next year, is "the health crisis posed by AIDS." The third greatest worry for futurists is "the permanent environmental damage caused by deforestation and species lost." Ranking second is that perennial favorite, "nuclear war." As for the number one fear of those with their eye to the future, "global economic collapse."

This year, the future

It's a common sci-fi setting. The world no longer supports life. Behind hermetic seals mutant humans struggle against the video eyes of the corporation-state. Welcome to Citibank, Mexico City—well, almost. The New York-based corporation has installed special air filters in its downtown office tower to protect its employees from Mexico City air. Air filtering systems are a booming business in the smog-shrouded capital, reports former "In Short" editor Rachel Sternberg. In the local papers an ad for the electronic Filtron 2000 reads: "The birds are dead today! And next...? Protect yourself from the lethal effects of pollution. Breathe clear air in your home and office and gain life for you and yours." Next year, mutant humans.

Which one's Dopey?

A couple of weeks ago the seven Democratic presidential candidate-contenders gathered in Washington to roast Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey. Among the best jokes... Dick Gephardt of Missouri: "Mike Dukakis is trying to show his deep understanding of agricultural issues. He went to a farmer in Iowa and asked, 'So, how much wool are you going to plant this year?'" Bruce Babbitt of Arizona: "Over at the Gephardt campaign headquarters they were arguing about campaign colors. Dick put his foot down and said, definitively, 'Plaid!'" Paul Simon of Illinois: "I'm announcing my first cabinet appointment. Secretary of Transportation goes to Bill Bradley, because he's a Rhodes Scholar. Get it?" Joe Biden of Delaware: "Officially, I'm six feet eight inches tall. Unfortunately, I'm standing on my record." Jesse Jackson of Illinois: "Bradley had it tough growing up. He was a white boy from the right side of the tracks, and he wanted to play basketball. His high school counselors told him to forget it. 'You're too rich. You can read. You can talk. You have a number of handicaps.' But Bill persevered. He proved race is no bar to talent."



David Vito

On the line: A participant in New York City's June 28 18th Annual Lesbian/Gay Pride Day March.

Breeding Frankenstein's dog

So far this year pit bull terriers have fatally mauled five Americans, two of them children.

Michelle Green in the July 6 *People* magazine reports that one of those children was two-year-old James Soto of San Jose, Calif. On June 13 Soto toddled into a neighbor's back yard and was attacked by their dog, Willie, a 52-pound pit bull. There were no screams. His parents found him locked in the dog's jaws. According to the attending paramedic, Soto was "unrecognizable as a human being."

And it was on June 10, 1986, in Bessemer, Mich., according to Green, that a "pit bull tore through a fence, almost strangling itself before breaking free of its chain. The animal then attacked a 20-month-old child playing near his mother. The pit bull snapped the child's neck, then carried his body into a wooded area."

As the attacks grow so does the breed's popularity. The Philadelphia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals says that the number of pit bulls in that city has grown in the last five years from 25 to 4,000.

All of which has led to the debate over which is at fault, the breed or the circumstance.

In this case, history suggests it is the dog—a Frankenstein dog that reflects thousands of years of selective breeding for violence. Domestic dogs are eloquent proof of genetic engineering long before the days that genes could be spliced in a laboratory. All are descended from one or possibly four wild species adopted by the forebears of *homo sapiens* in the Miocene Age, some 25 million years ago.

But only one strain of dogs was carefully bred, by culling and inbreeding, for blind courage in at-

tack and docile obedience to an often ruthless master. Pit bulls are dogs that will fight on with two or three parts of their bodies missing.

The evolution of the strain has been recorded through the ages. Spanish cave paintings dated to 4,000 B.C. show the pit bulldog's earliest pictured ancestor accompanying primitive hunters.

The strain shows up again in 1200 B.C. on a Greek wall painting in Tyre that depicts a powerful dog of enormous size attacking wild boars. The Greeks called the strain "Mollosi" and used it against wolves, bears, boars, lions and tigers—as well as in human battle. Some paintings show the dogs weeping over fallen comrades.

Assyrians in 600 B.C. reveal the dog taking part in military campaigns—armed, chained, open-mouthed. The Romans continued and expanded the practice, often loosing hundreds of Mollosi in front of advancing infantry. Rome's enemies used the Mollosi, too: At the Battle of Versella, Marius the Roman Consul is described as overcoming hordes of war dogs led by women.

When the Romans got to the British Isles, they found an even tougher strain originally brought over by the Phoenicians, and took them back for use in the arenas against lions, tigers—and men. By the Christian era the Mollosi were common throughout the Western world, introduced by conquering Roman legions.

The British descendants of these pugnacious dogs were known as "Alaunts," and by the time of Shakespeare as "tydogs," guard dogs kept on chains or used by gamekeepers to hunt poachers.

During the Middle Ages, the Alaunts were called "butcher's dogs" (later known as "bulldogs") and used to drive and restrain oxen on their way to slaughter—a prac-

tice seen as a way to tenderize the meat. At its master's command, the dog would seize an ox by the nose and hold or throw it on its side.

By the 14th century the Alaunt had become the foundation dog of the breed that would make the sports of bull- and bear-baiting a European national pastime. Bear-baiting was so widespread in the 16th century that Queen Elizabeth I forbade the showing of plays in her theaters on Thursdays—bear-baiting days.

Later, under Puritan influence, strong efforts were made to outlaw the various canine blood sports. When baiting fell out of popularity with the elites in the 19th century, dogs were bred to exaggerate the characteristics associated with the bulldog: large, powerful body, broad face with small, front-looking eyes and powerful underjaw, bandy legs and silence.

But millenia of breeding for ferocity did not end there. The fiercest strains of bulldogs and terriers were in the 19th century concentrated through interbreeding to produce the iron-jawed pit bull terrier. Pit fighting, an underground sport, was popular in both England and the U.S., where Irish immigrants had brought their "old family strain" of pit bulls and continued close inbreeding.

Today the pit bull terrier is by no means a uniform breed, but one bred for the dominance of one specific trait—the instinct to attack, silently, to the death. It is also an increasingly popular breed as the dog-fighting underworld expands to service a public not sated by the recreational violence provided by all-star wrestling and video death.

But in the end, what the pit bull testifies to is not the monster quality of a dog but the cruel streak of the human.

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—Josephine Alexander

It's O.K., Ollie: Arms sales to Iran are legal after all

In These Times has learned that officials of the government agency that regulates and licenses U.S. arms sales abroad admitted last February to a Senate committee that Iran was never legally ineligible for U.S. arms sales because it was never put on the list of countries barred from receiving U.S. weapons and weapons-related equipment.

Furthermore, even in the wake of the arms scandal, Iran continues to be declared legally eligible for arms transfers through fiscal year 1988, officials of the State Department's Office of Munitions Control (OMC) told Sen. John Glenn's (D-OH) Governmental Affairs Committee that is examining arms-transfer regulations. This testimony from OMC Director William Robinson and OMC Licensing Director Joe Small Doane contradicts the Reagan administration's announced embargo on all U.S. weapons sales to Iran.

And, indeed, U.S. Customs Service officials testifying before the committee indicated that some of the 33 attempts to illegally export weapons to Iran since January 1981 that have been prosecuted were commercial sales approved by the OMC. The OMC officials, however, had earlier told the committee that no commercial sales to Iran had

ever been licensed, referring to the arms and trade embargo imposed against Iran on Nov. 4, 1979, when Iranian students seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and held its staff hostage.

It was recently reported by NBC News and Reuters that last March low-technology computer equipment capable of being used to direct anti-aircraft weapons systems was allowed to be commercially sold to Iran. The computers fall under the OMC's U.S. Munitions List, a categorical enumeration of the arms and arms-related services the agency controls. Since Iran is eligible for arms sales, the computers could legally have been licensed by the OMC.

The Reuters story quoted an anonymous administration official as saying that the government had in the last three years licensed \$60 million of commercial sales of the computers to Iran.

Iraq is another country that has continued to be declared legally eligible for arms sales, despite the administration's claim of neutrality in the Iran/Iraq war. The two OMC officials admitted that, despite the official policy of neutrality, last year, on orders from the executive branch, they approved a \$169,000 sale of unidentified weapons to Iraq. This contradicts State Department spokesman Charles Redman's assertion that "we don't sell arms to either side, nor do we allow transfers by others of U.S.-sourced

or licensed arms to either side."

The OMC officials explained under questioning that decisions on whether to grant any given license application are based not on written criteria but on policies originating from the White House.

But arms sales to Iraq, as they are to Iran, are supposed to be denied without exception. Reaffirming Redman's policy statement, Licensing Director Doane testified that "if we receive an application for Iran or Iraq, we simply return it without action as being inconsistent with U.S. foreign policy. We have a form on which that statement is prerecorded."

An investigator for the Governmental Affairs Committee, who asked not to be identified, told *In These Times*, "But policy or no policy, the fact is that these countries are legally eligible for arms sales, and it's clear that if this administration wants arms sold to, say, Iraq or Iran, it can have them licensed, because these countries are legally eligible."

Or, as Doane explained to the Senate committee, "For guidance on whether or not a particular application ought to be approved, that becomes a policy judgment...beginning with the White House and coming right on down through the bureaus in the [State] Department...delegated from the president, to the secretary of state, to this office."

—Anthony L. Kimery

Housing quota controversy: discrimination for integration

A federal court in New York decided in May that private landlords cannot regulate the percentages of tenants by race to ensure integration. The decision could settle one of the toughest dilemmas in the fight against housing discrimination: How do we integrate rental housing without "benignly" discriminating against some racial groups? It's a problem that has long divided fair housing and civil rights advocates.

In a case first brought by the NAACP and later taken up by the Reagan Justice Department, U.S. District Court Judge Edward Neaher decided that the privately owned (but federally assisted) Starrett City complex in Brooklyn, N.Y., discriminates against minority tenants when it limits the number of apartments available to tenants by race.

Starrett City regulates its population so that 63 percent are white, 22 percent are black and 8 percent are Hispanic, even though blacks and Hispanics make up much higher percentages of those applying for apartments. Such regulations are necessary, management

says, to keep the complex from becoming predominantly minority.

Starrett City management argues minorities benefit from that discrimination, since the result is they live in an integrated community. Says Betty Hoeber, whose Open Housing Center in New York City helped bring the suit, "It's a beautiful system if you don't happen to be needing an apartment."

Hoeber rejects the contention that whites will stop applying to live in Starrett City if minorities make up more than half the tenant population. She believes people of all races will continue to apply for Starrett City units as long as the complex is well managed and superior to most alternatives in the area.

Oscar Newman, a race-relations scholar and community planner who oversees the court-ordered housing desegregation in Yonkers, N.Y., defended Starrett City's system in court by arguing that its integration could not be maintained without quotas. If the minority population grows too large, Newman says, "tipping"—white flight after the minority population rises above a certain point—will inevitably result.

Newman cites innumerable studies that tipping is inevitable in areas without "occupancy controls," especially in public housing—and private but federally as-

sisted housing such as Starrett City.

"It is impossible, given the housing demand situation," Newman says, "to maintain an integrated community without some form of conscious controls. You could not maintain integration at that high a level [Starrett City's 36 percent minority population] without quotas."

Which raises the question: why maintain integration if there is no discrimination? Besides the argument that integration is a good thing, Newman stresses political realities. He says evidence that shows public maintenance of schools, parks, infrastructure, jobs and other vital institutions inevitably decline as a community's minority population grows. History makes the results clear: separate is almost never equal. State and local governments time and again seem incapable of sustaining adequate public services in minority neighborhoods.

Newman recommends a managed integration that includes "benign" discrimination. But establishing quotas to achieve integration is a form of social engineering that many people—including pro-integration civil rights groups and, certainly, the Reagan Justice Department—are not prepared to endorse. And if Judge Neaher's ruling sticks on appeal, it would also be illegal.

—Darryl Brown

Let me count the crimes

Reporters have commented that Ronald Reagan was at times completely lost during discussions at last month's Venice summit. One said, in all seriousness, that the president would just tune out when a topic came up for which he didn't have the right cue cards. More recently, Reagan blathered his way through a press conference of economic reporters. He was asked about charges from Democratic presidential hopefuls that his administration lacked integrity. His answer: "I don't think there's anyone that's ever been in this job—ever—that has not gone to bed every night knowing that, with all the thousands of people that are out there, there could be somebody that's breaking the rules someplace, and you try to get at that and do something about it." The next questioner asked about the 100-plus members of his administration who left their jobs "under some sort of cloud or scandal." Reagan said, "A number of people in our administration—there have been things that have been uncovered by someone, let's say, that—in the past, before they ever came here. But isn't it the very fact that we are uncovering if there's something going wrong and something being done about it [sic]. We're not covering it up or hiding it."

And now who's getting screwed?

Italians last month elected porn princess Ilona Staller, age 37, to parliament on the Radical Party ticket. According to Uli Schmetzer, writing in the *Chicago Tribune*, as a victory treat Staller invited her supporters to Rome's Piazza Navona to kiss and fondle her breasts. But all did not go well. The well-wishers went into a frenzy, and baton-wielding riot police were forced to disperse a crowd that was squeezing Staller and her proffered charms to death. In the uproar, three pillars of the piazza's famous fountain, built by 17th-century sculptor Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, were damaged. A Radical Party spokesman says that the party only promoted Staller as a joke and has since requested that she step down—an invitation she declined. Now in parliament, Staller has immunity and cannot be prosecuted for several charges of obscene behavior in public places. Of course the Italian political establishment is none too happy. One member blamed "voyeurism and electoral sadomasochism." Sure, it's sad, but hey, don't blame the Italian people. After all, for 40 years Italy has been plagued by parliamentarians whose sanctimony and corruption are legendary.

Bringing radiation to life

It seems that General Electric-NBC (the nuclear-weapons, nuclear-power, electrical-appliance and TV-broadcasting conglomerate) has put the screws on the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*. According to the *Nuclear Monitor*, an anti-nuclear power publication, the *Plain Dealer's* James Lawless and Bill Sloat reported that in 1975 GE engineers recommended to the company that it quit selling its nuclear reactors because the design "does not constitute a quality product." In their study the engineers listed among their concerns "deteriorating metals, inadequate cooling systems, earthquake hazards and radiation dangers to plant workers." A couple of days later Lawless and Sloat alleged that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) and GE entered into a secret agreement to keep this document from the public. A former NRC commissioner, Joseph Hendrie, told the paper that GE had threatened to sue the NRC if it released the study. The paper also reported that the chief of GE's reactor division wrote, "If any of our customers ever get a copy of this, we will have real trouble. All of the comments may be true, but why does GE have to put it into print?—to ruin a business?" A source told the *Nuclear Monitor* that two days after the article was published GE officials went to Cleveland and met with *Plain-Dealer* editors. By the end of the week Lawless was taken off the nuclear beat and assigned to cover Cleveland's municipal bus system.

And when they dance, they twitch

Just like drug addicts, rock fans when deprived of a music "fix" suffer withdrawal symptoms, according to a report in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, a Soviet newspaper. Says psychology professor G.A. Aminev, "If you completely isolate them for a week from such music they feel worse, their irritability rises, their hands start to tremble and their pulse is unstable." The professor from Bashkir University adds that tests have shown that some rock fans could not go even three days without their music. Furthermore, heavy rock addicts on average produce 50 percent less than those who forego the sounds.

Pentagon aide linked to drug ring



COVERT ACTION

Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage

By Jim Naureckas

TIME MAGAZINE RECENTLY DESCRIBED Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage as "a man widely respected for his integrity and effectiveness," but he rarely appears in the news. He's not a household name, like Oliver North or Elliott Abrams. But he should be.

According to the Christic Institute, a public-interest law firm in Washington, Armitage is the last government representative of a decades-old secret network that trafficked in drugs, arms and assassination. The institute calls this group a "Secret Team" that used its members' powerful positions in the U.S. military and CIA to run a quasi-official terror network. Christic Institute researchers say Oliver North gave this group responsibility for rearming the contras after Congress banned government aid.

Most of the men accused of belonging to this Secret Team left government in recent years, especially after one of their associates, Edwin Wilson, was caught selling explosives to Libya. But Armitage retains his post as assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs.

The Christic Institute charges in a recent affidavit that during the '70s, while working for the U.S. government, Armitage served as a "bursar" for drug profits controlled by the Secret Team. Armitage directed these profits, according to the institute, to secret bank accounts that funded assassination programs not officially authorized by the U.S. government.

Not just a job: Despite acknowledged links to Secret Team suspects, Armitage currently directs Defense Department policy toward the Third World and helped initiate "Reagan Doctrine" support for anti-communist insurgencies. Armitage also oversees the newly formed Special Operations Forces, in effect a new military branch for covert

operations, and supervises U.S. military assistance programs.

In 1986 he was also a member of Oliver North's interagency counterterrorism committee, and as part of the Crisis Pre-Planning Group helped coordinate the April 1986 raid on Libya.

The charges against Armitage appear in an affidavit supporting the Christic Institute's lawsuit against contra-network members (see *In These Times*, March 11). The suit argues that the people running the contra network were part of a long-running conspiracy—in legal terms, a group involved in a pattern of illegal activities.

According to the Christic Institute, the Secret Team was deeply involved in the Iran-contra operation: Ret. Gen. Richard Secord, a special operations veteran, masterminded the enterprise; Thomas Clines, a retired CIA officer, was his partner in procuring arms for the contras; and Theodore Shackley, Clines' boss at the CIA and once a candidate for CIA director, was reportedly the first to suggest to the U.S. government the idea of trading arms for hostages.

Although Armitage, unlike the others, is not a defendant in the institute's suit, he played a central role in the Secret Team, according to the affidavit.

Armitage has formally denied these charges in a four-page document entitled "Fictionalized Accounts of the Activities of Richard L. Armitage in Southeast Asia and Iran: A Rebuttal." The rebuttal's evasive wording actual denies far less than it appears to, avoiding some of the Christic Institute's charges while denying allegations never made by the affidavit.

See the world: His Secret Team involvement, according to the institute, goes back to the Vietnam War. After a stint in the Navy as what the Pentagon calls a "counter-intelligence/ambush team" (read: assassination squad) adviser, he was stationed in Saigon in 1973, ostensibly as a civilian con-

sultant to the South Vietnamese navy.

What Armitage was actually doing, according to the affidavit, was handling the Secret Team's drug-business funds. These funds allegedly came from Laos, where Secret Team suspect Shackley was running a covert war for the CIA (see *In These Times*, April 15). The Hmong tribesmen Shackley was using as a proxy army grew opium as their major crop, and former CIA officers have charged that Shackley was amassing large profits from opium traffic. Armitage, according to the Christic Institute, channeled these funds from Laos into Secret Team assassination programs in South Vietnam that were not authorized by the U.S. government.

Armitage says he was assigned in late 1974 to work for the Pentagon comptroller, who was Erich von Marbod. According to *Manhunt*, Peter Maas' biography of "CIA agent turned terrorist" Wilson, von Marbod was Shackley's closest associate in Vietnam. Maas also says von Marbod was the "mastermind" of illegal arms deals involving Wilson, Shackley, Secord and Clines. The affidavit names von Marbod as the "liaison officer" between the Secret Team and the White House.

After the U.S. withdrew from Vietnam in 1975, Armitage worked in Iran, where he says he was a "consultant to the defense representative"—who happens to have been von Marbod. Also serving as a consultant to the Shah of Iran at this time was Secord, who during the Vietnam War had run Air America, the CIA airline that reportedly carried opium out of Laos. The Christic Institute charges that Armitage was in Iran to "set up a secret 'financial conduit' inside Iran" to transmit drug profits to a private assassination campaign aimed at the shah's opponents.

From Iran Armitage went to Bangkok, Thailand, in 1976, ostensibly as a private citizen, according to the Pentagon. The institute alleges that Armitage founded a dummy corporation in Bangkok to launder drug profits still controlled by Shackley. This money, according to the affidavit, was destined for the Nugan Hand Bank, an Australia-based multinational that collapsed in 1980 amid charges of connections to drug dealers and the CIA.

Name games: Armitage's company, according to the institute, was called "Far East Trading Co.," a name Armitage in his rebuttal denies ever hearing. But he does say he helped establish a business with Gen. Harry Aderholt in Bangkok, which developed into a company that exported rattan furniture. Aderholt told *In These Times* that the rattan business was called Far East Imports.

Aderholt was Secord's commanding officer for covert actions in Vietnam and now heads the Air Commando Association, which distributes private aid in Central America.

The Christic Institute also links Armitage to "Jerry O. Daniels," a U.S. official who worked with the Laotian tribesmen that were Shackley's alleged source of opium. Daniels died mysteriously in Bangkok in 1982. Armitage's rebuttal twice insists that he "does not know 'Jerry O. Daniels.'" But the institute wrongly identified Daniels' middle name—it's really Barker. Armitage's lawyer, Lewis Libby, denied that his client knew any Jerry Daniels.

In 1978 Armitage became administrative assistant to Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS). After working as a foreign policy adviser to Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, he joined the Defense Department, attaining his current post in 1983.

"A lot of pressure": One of the few mentions of the Christic Institute's allegations against Armitage came in a May 4 *Time* article that defended him, citing an endorsement by NSC adviser Frank Carlucci, and called the Christic Institute affidavit "inaccurate and full of false assumptions."

Even researchers sympathetic to the Christic Institute admit the affidavit includes inaccuracies. But a dispute arose at *Time* over how strong Armitage's rebuttal was. While one *Time* employee described it as "compelling," another said that "a lot of pressure was put on the magazine" to come down on Armitage's side, adding, "*Time* is impressed by people with big titles."

Both Armitage and Secord worked for Carlucci when he was deputy secretary of defense in 1981 and 1982, and Carlucci let Secord avoid taking a polygraph in 1982 about his association with Wilson, according to Maas' *Manhunt*. When Carlucci moved to the private sector, he hired von Marbod to work for him at Sears World Trade, the arms trading company he headed.

Carlucci's ties to Secret Team suspects make him a dubious character witness to clear Armitage's name. But Carlucci's intervention seems to have dampened any serious inquiry into Armitage's past, leaving him in charge of the Pentagon's covert actions, arms sales and relations with Third World militaries. No one in the Secret Team could hope for a better job.

A questionable source

Support for the Christic Institute's charges that Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage was involved in drug trafficking comes from an unlikely source: a Burmese warlord, by way of a former Green Beret officer.

Khun Sa, a warlord who admits to controlling much of the opium traffic in Burma, gave a videotaped interview in May to Ret. Col. James "Bo" Gritz in which Khun Sa and his aides said they had worked with U.S. government officials, including Armitage, to export heroin from Southeast Asia.

Gritz, who has searched extensively in Southeast Asia for U.S. MIAs, told *In These Times* he was disgusted by the lack of official response to Khun Sa's charges. "The CIA says, 'We just don't trust Khun Sa,' but Khun Sa says that the CIA is one of his biggest buyers," Gritz said.

But Christic Institute researchers expressed skepticism over the tapes. All of the government officials named in the interview are also named in the Christic Institute affidavit. More troubling, the Khun Sa tape repeats an error that the institute made in its affidavit, calling an Armitage business "Far East Trading Co." instead of "Far East Imports."

In one scene in the video, Gritz is holding what at first appears to be a White House document, but upon closer examination looks more like a copy of the Christic Institute affidavit—the likely source for Khun Sa's accusations.

—Jim Naureckas & Richard Ryan

By David Moberg

ALAN GREENSPAN, A BUSINESS CONSULTANT and former chief economic adviser to Gerald Ford, will soon replace Paul Volcker as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Often called the second most powerful position in the government after the presidency, the Fed chairmanship will bring a legacy of Reaganite control over the economy into the next administration.

But then, Volcker, whose tight-money policies helped to precipitate the worst economic slump since the Great Depression and to devastate U.S. manufacturing, was a Jimmy Carter appointee. He was renominated by Reagan, even though the Fed's monetary rigor clashed with Reagan's initial supply-side incentives.

What the Federal Reserve does certainly can have enormous consequences. But the chairman's power is only an expression of the dominance of the international financial system that actually severely limits his options. Indeed, Greenspan—a one-time Ayn Rand enthusiast turned mainstream conservative—is expected to pursue a course much like Volcker's, except that the new chairman is said to favor more deregulation of the banking system.

But what if a left-leaning Democrat were elected president? Could that president's choice to lead the Fed make a difference? *In These Times* asked several economists on the left what they would do if they, rather than Greenspan, had been appointed chairman of the Federal Reserve.

Lester Thurow: dean of the Sloan School of Management, MIT, author of *The Zero-Sum Solution*.

"The Federal Reserve Board is imprisoned, caught by the international debt situation. If you ask what degrees of freedom the chairman has, the truthful answer is 'zero.' What Greenspan or I would find is that there's really little you can do. The American money supply has disappeared. It's an international money supply. The Japanese decision on whether to buy or not to buy U.S. bonds is more important than anything the Federal Reserve does. The real person in charge of interest rates is not the Federal Reserve chairman; it's the Japanese bond buyer.

"Greenspan is not going to fight inflation. Normally to fight inflation the Fed would raise interest rates, but that would hurt Latin debtors and U.S. farmers. Also, we need inflation so imports don't go up. The only way to reduce imports is to make them so expensive Americans can't buy them.

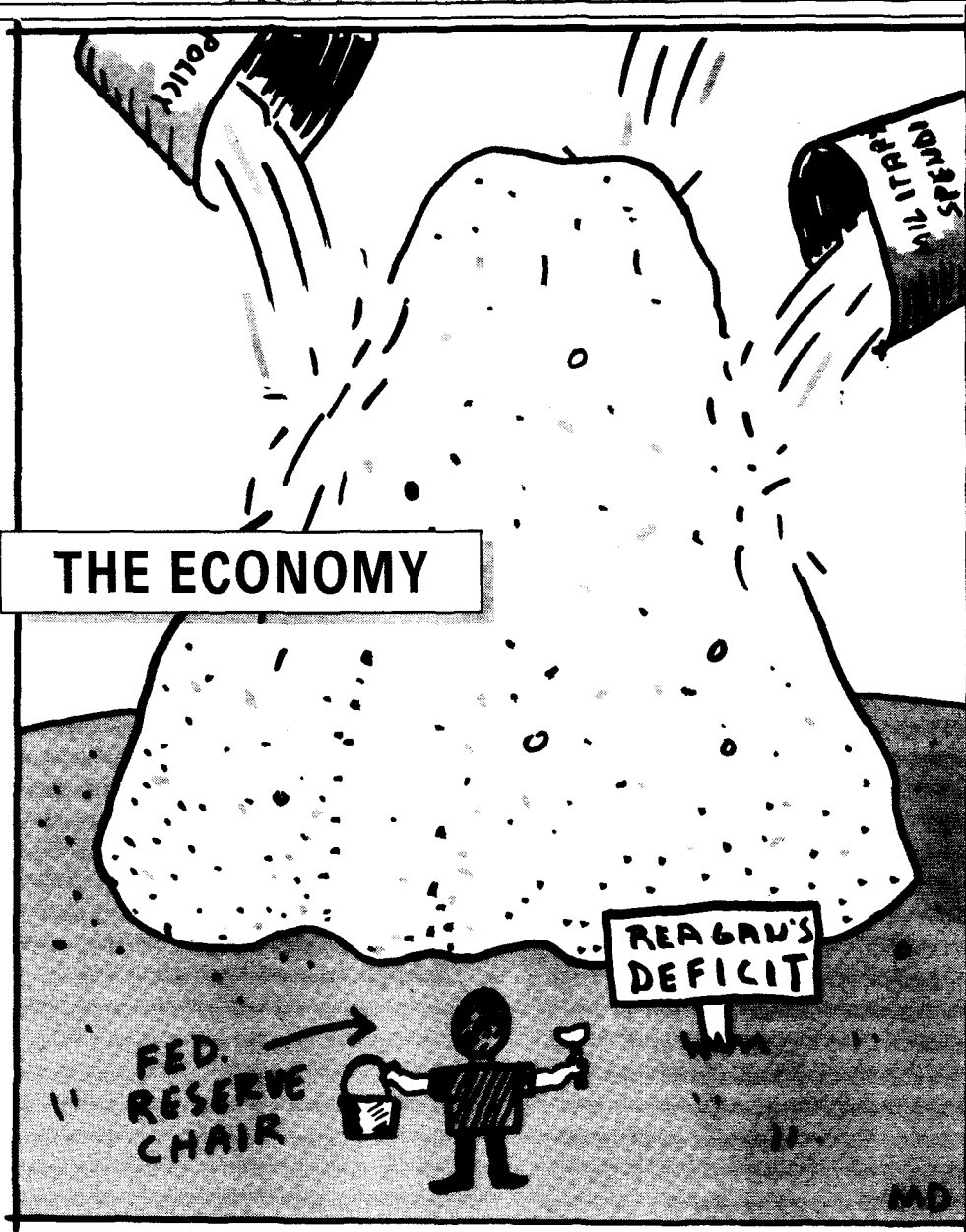
"In terms of doing anything positive, I'd rather not have the job."

David Gordon: professor of economics, New School for Social Research, co-author of *Beyond the Wasteland*:

"I would propose an immediate end to the independence of the Federal Reserve and integration of the Fed with the executive branch. Between World War II and 1951 the Fed was under control of the Treasury Department, and overall agreed with federal economic policy. Both the need for integrated economic policy and the unacceptability of the unaccountability of the Fed itself mean simply returning to that policy wouldn't be bad, for starters."

Robert Heilbroner: Norman Thomas professor of economics, New School for Social Research, author of *Marxism: For and Against*:

"I'd take aspirin. You're not offered unless you are willing to play by the rules of the game. Right now the primary rule is: don't



What if a left economist was in control of the Fed?

upset the markets by doing something that raises inflationary fears. There's a big footnote there that is important and little mentioned: the ability of the Fed or the chairman to control the money supply is much, much less for Mr. Greenspan than even Mr. Volcker because of international flows of money.

"The second question is: is it imaginable that there could be other rules of the game with a liberal Democratic president? Then my priority would be a strong program for economic growth, redistribution and repair. That would cheer up my political constituents and worry the market considerably. [Could a Fed chairman do that even with a liberal Democratic president?] That's the question of politics versus business. How far can liberal Democrats go [with investors] without giving rise to capital flight or a capital strike? The answer is: we don't know. And it is a great wild card."

Howard Wachtel: professor of economics, American University, author of *The Money Mandarins*:

"First I would get a handle on international financial issues, which make running a central bank nearly impossible. You have to get the international economy under control before you can talk about reducing domestic interest rates, because otherwise you can't make it stick. I'd also move on the international debt to develop a routine for resolving that issue. I'd support the La Falce bill to set up a debt-rescheduling authority and put pressure on debtor countries to control capital flight. And I'd work with debtor countries to swap, reschedule or sell some of their debt to the new authorities and to convert

some of the publicly held debt into local currency that would be put into local economic development trust funds.

"Second, I'd regulate Eurodollars (dollars held in foreign accounts). I'd develop a consensus with Congress and with other banks to set reserve requirements [for Eurodollars]. Third, I'd push the U.S. government to

***In These Times* asks several economists on the left what they would do if they, rather than Alan Greenspan, had been appointed to be the new chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.**

develop target zone exchange rates [rates would be allowed to fluctuate only within a defined range instead of current free fluctuation].

"Volcker did—and I expect Greenspan will do—a good job managing the domestic financial system rooted in the '50s, but that's archaic in the '80s when you have massive deregulation and this global monetary system."

Gerry Epstein: assistant professor of economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, author of articles on the Federal Reserve and monetary policy.

"I would make the fight against unemploy-

ment my main objective rather than the fight against inflation. I would try to expand credit and lower interest rates to bring down unemployment. I would fight for capital controls so that destabilizing effects on exchange rates wouldn't occur or detrimentally affect the economy. The way to do that would be to control all transactions for speculative or purely financial purposes by putting a large tax on them while allowing exchange rate transactions for goods and services. Capital controls cannot make an unfeasible policy feasible, but they can cut down on speculative undercutting of a feasible policy. The U.S. has unused [production] capacity and could expand, but it's held hostage to international capital, because the dollar is used so much in international transactions.

"There would be financial panic in the short run. But the U.S. would be expanding, and other economies could export to the U.S. In real terms their economies would be better off. I would go to other central banks and say, 'Cool it for a while. This will freeze your financial assets, but your economies will expand.' I'd lower the discount rate, increase the money supply. There's so much excess capacity, and commodity prices are so stable that there's not that much to worry about short- to medium-run inflation."

James Galbraith: an economist at the L.B.J. School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, and former staff director Joint Economic Committee of Congress:

"The environment that created Volcker's reputation—a high dollar kept down inflation and budget deficits kept up growth—couldn't keep going forever. The budget deficit can't keep up growth as it declines as a share of the gross national product and is increasingly ineffective to keep up growth because of the trade deficit. When you add in inflation with the fall of the dollar creating an external inflationary shock, you've got a great reduction in the power of fiscal policy to sustain spending. Between these two forces you've got stagnation and inflation looming ahead.

"I'd take the inflation as quickly as possible and devalue the dollar very sharply now rather than allow it to slide bit by bit. You get the import price shock through the system quickly, then close up the deficit with a tax increase, raising the upper-income marginal tax rates. It's unavoidable [that the average wage-earner will lose, but he] will be a lot better off if we stop losing our competitive industries. Cutting military spending has its uses: advanced military projects absorb exactly the same engineering and scientific talent that we were using to support our exports."

Paul Sweezy: editor *Monthly Review*, co-author, *Monopoly Capital*:

"I'd resign. It's their problem. We shouldn't figure out ways to save their necks. The job of the Federal Reserve chairman is to keep the economy on an even keel. But it's the nature of the system to get out of whack. What we need to do is redistribute income, put taxes on the wealthy, guarantee jobs to people who need them. But the Fed can't do anything like that.

"On minor secondary issues, I tend to be against opening up the whole financial system for banks or corporations to go into any area. These are practices that had to do with the excesses of the '20s. One of the New Deal's important reforms—pro-capitalist, basically—was to put on some regulations that keep the system from going into one of these heated-up explosions."



How Waldheim is useful in pontiff's long-term plan

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HAS ALWAYS WELCOMED sinners. Welcoming sinners who are also princes or heads of state has helped make the Catholic Church what it is today. A temporal leader's spiritual shortcomings may indeed provide a handle for a spiritual guide to gain wider

AUSTRIA

temporal influence. It was in perfect keeping with Catholic tradition that Pope John Paul II welcomed Austrian President Kurt Waldheim to the Vatican when everyone else was slamming doors in his face.

But while the pope and other powers can put the Waldheim affair to their own use, the effects at the grass-roots level in Austria are deplorable. Attacks on Waldheim originating in the U.S. have aroused dangerously conflicting emotions. Efforts to create understanding between Catholics and Jews in Austria have been set back. Forgiveness is as essential to Christianity as remembrance is to Judaism. By a campaign against Waldheim that seems exaggerated even to Austrian Jews, the World Jewish Congress has unwittingly made it easier for Austrians to stop feeling guilty about their national tradition of anti-Semitism.

Double message: A poll taken just before Pope John Paul II received the controversial president at the Vatican showed that 61 percent of Austrians would vote today for Waldheim, including 43 percent of Social Democrats and 92 percent of his own Christian Democrats. At the same time, a similar majority wished he would resign. This clearly suggest that Austrians are less attached to Waldheim as their president than defensive of what they perceive as unjustified outside criticism. The same poll showed that 33 percent blamed Waldheim for the scandal around his wartime past while 41 percent pinned responsibility on

the World Jewish Congress.

A few days after he was praised by the pope as a man of peace, Austrian Socialists, by a close vote and over opposition of party leaders, called on Waldheim to resign. The Socialists blame Waldheim for lying about his past, pretending to have sat out World War II when in fact he was busy repressing "terrorism" (as the Wehrmacht called partisan resistance) in the Balkans. But even the sponsor of the Socialist resolution calling for the president's resignation, Josef Hindels, defended Waldheim from Jewish accusations that he had committed war crimes.

Waldheim is essentially an uninteresting conformist who has done whatever he was supposed to in order to succeed in his career. Criteria have changed and so has he.

Even many Austrians who heartily dislike Waldheim believe that there was more than spontaneous moral indignation behind the World Jewish Congress' campaign against him.

In the first place, the attacks on Waldheim, the former United Nations secretary general, seem in keeping with Israeli and Reagan administration efforts to undermine the U.N. The impression that the U.N. is indirectly under attack has created a certain reflex of sympathy for Waldheim in many countries outside the U.S. sphere.

Austrian neutrality is seen as the second target of the anti-Waldheim campaign begun in the U.S. "We don't belong to the club," anti-Nazi historian Gerald Stourzh told the Italian daily *La Repubblica*. "If Austria had belonged to NATO, Waldheim would never have been put on the 'watch list.' Basically, the Americans never digested our neutrality."

Stourzh said the extreme moral rigor applied to Waldheim may be "an honorable sentiment, but it does not take into account

historical reality. Waldheim neglected to recount a part of his own past. Morally he is to blame, but to put him on the same level with a Barbie or an Eichmann as is now being done is a huge injustice. The Israeli ambassador Daniel Elasar, who was recalled to Israel last year, courageously said so many times. But the voice of reason goes unheard."

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has used the pope's audience with Waldheim to argue that "the pope's contempt for the feelings of the Jewish people should push us to strengthen the Jewish presence in all parts of our national territory, without hesitation." In short, he alleges that the affair justifies the Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

The ultimate aim: The pope also has a political advantage to draw from the affair, as Catholic priest Gianni Baget Bozzo, a Socialist member of the European parliament, explained in an interview in the West German daily *Die Tageszeitung*. By lending a hand to Austrian Christian Democrats in hanging on to the presidency, the Polish pope hopes to strengthen conservative Catholicism in Austria and "liquidate the heritage of the liberal Cardinal Koenig" of Vienna and "make Austria into a powerful bulwark of his East European policy."

The pope's most cherished aim is to restore Christendom, that is, Europe as a Christian entity. Whether capitalist or communist,

The pope has a political advantage to draw from his meeting with Waldheim.

he foresees that societies without soul may turn to the Catholic Church to provide what they lack.

"A grateful Waldheim can be useful" to the pope, Baget Bozzo observed. The Italian press reports that the pope's dream is to wangle an invitation to the Soviet Union next year to celebrate the millenium of the conversion of Russia to Christianity. Waldheim may be able to help. □

The debt crisis: soul searching for banks and debtor nations

By Carol Wise

AS DRASTIC AS THE DECISION APPEARED IN May, Citicorp chair John Reed should be thanked for setting aside \$3 billion in reserves against future losses on his bank's Third World loans. The gesture is one of the first realistic responses

LATIN AMERICA

to the debt crisis over the past five years, since it acknowledges that debtors simply can't be counted on to pay back their massive debts. The action also dispels illusions about where the debtors really stand with the banks.

The move—prompted largely by Brazil's indefinite interest-payment moratorium on \$70 billion of its debt owed to the banks—signals an obvious toughening regarding further lending to the Third World. It also represents a "writing down" of the debt by

the banks. Citibank and now Chase Manhattan and others have opted to suffer quick short-term losses on their Latin loans so as to diversify and strengthen their balance sheets with other assets considered less risky over the long run.

With this more militant stance toward defending their capital bases, the banks have theoretically laid to rest the debt strategy of Treasury Secretary James Baker and outgoing U.S. Federal Reserve Chair Paul Volcker. Both argued that by punctually servicing their debt to the banks and closely complying with the stabilization measures of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, debtors would attract new capital back into the region through fresh bank loans and direct private investment. But the region's unprecedented net capital outflows—\$20-30 billion a year in debt service payments since 1983—and the low levels of private investment in the '80s show that the opposite trend has prevailed.

The banks have now jumped into the center of this policy vacuum, demonstrating that they won't be sticking around to pick up the tab. This means that everyone—creditor-country governments, debtor-country governments, the big multilateral lenders and even the banks themselves—now face some long overdue soul-searching about realistic options for resolving the crisis, both within the parameters of their own institutions and on private capital markets.

Capital markets are registering interesting signals on this front. Despite Baker's and Volcker's vehement insistence that the debtors pay up in full, one Salomon Brothers bank analyst says that stocks for those big banks with high levels of outstanding Latin debt are currently trading at a 60 percent discount to the stock market—a discount that is "even greater than the price concessions accorded Third World debt currently trading in the secondary market." Such discounts likely make it impossible for bank creditors to proceed much longer with their solemn negotiations for multi-year reschedulings and full-interest payments from the debtors, and may explain Citicorp's decision to pull back

Continued on page 10

By Kevin Robinson

GUATEMALA CITY

HOPE FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS again on hold after the sudden and unexpected postponement of a June 25-26 conference of Central American leaders here. The presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica were to have discussed a new peace plan for the region at the meeting.

Most diplomats here say the Reagan administration pushed its closest regional allies, Honduras and El Salvador, to postpone the conference in order to pave the way for new U.S. military aid to the contras. The administration has been critical of the plan for seeking to end U.S. military pressures on Nicaragua in exchange for political reforms in that country.

Despite fears that U.S. opposition condemns the plan to failure, however, the meeting is now rescheduled for August 6-7. As that date nears, some Central American countries are seeking closer coordination with the Contadora group of nations to buffer U.S. pressure and boost the negotiations. The Contadora group—Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Panama—has long been seeking a peace settlement for the region.

The new peace proposal, dubbed the "Arias plan" after its author, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, is aimed at reviving regional peace negotiations. Such talks have been stagnant since June 1986, when the Central American countries declined to sign a peace pact drawn up by the Contadora group.

"The Arias plan attempts to reactivate negotiations and put a peace pact in practice," said Costa Rican Ambassador to Guatemala Mario Charpentier. "It incorporates the most essential aspects of the Contadora plan, such as breaking the arms race in Central America, but also places greater emphasis on restoring democratic processes in all the countries."

Costa Rican officials admit the plan is an attempt to replace military pressure on Nicaragua with political pressure. Its cornerstone is a proposed demand that the Reagan administration end all military and economic aid to the Nicaraguan contras. In exchange the Sandinista government would declare a cease-fire and decree an amnesty for the contras. The plan also calls on the Nicaraguan leadership to open a national dialogue with legal opposition organizations in order to restore civil liberties suspended by the country's five-year-old "state of emergency."

Revised proposal: When Arias first presented the plan to the Reagan administration in January, State Department officials embraced the initiative. At that time the plan called on the Sandinistas to negotiate directly with the contras—an old U.S. demand that Nicaragua steadfastly resists, considering it tantamount to surrendering to Washington's military pressure.

But at a meeting of four of the Central American presidents last February—which excluded Nicaragua—Arias suddenly changed the plan, calling on the Sandinistas to negotiate with legal opposition groups rather than the contras.

Honduras and El Salvador—both heavily dependent on U.S. military and economic aid, with the latter facing a strong insurgency in its own country—could not endorse the new version of the plan. Instead the two countries agreed to invite Nicaragua to discuss the proposal at another conference of all five Cen-

Meeting to discuss peace proposal delayed under pressure from U.S.

tral American presidents. The ill-fated meeting was scheduled for late June in Guatemala City.

Since the conference was announced, Reagan administration officials, backed by Honduras and El Salvador, have regularly criticized the new plan, saying it does not include sufficient demands on Nicaragua. The U.S. insists on direct negotiations between Managua and the contras, as well as substantial political reforms in Nicaragua, before the U.S. cuts off aid to the counterrevolutionaries.

"The big question is: 'Are the Sandinistas willing to negotiate away their stronghold in

CENTRAL AMERICA

Nicaragua?" said one U.S. official here, clearly summarizing the Reagan's administration's main concern. "Why should or will they feel they have to? But if they face years more of the contras, they would probably be more willing."

The contragate factor: The Arias plan, however, is firmly backed by Democrats in the U.S. Congress. In March the Democrat-controlled Senate voted 97-1 to support the Arias initiative. In October U.S. lawmakers are scheduled to debate legislation to block Reagan's request for \$105 million in new contra aid.

The Arias plan is intended to capitalize on growing opposition in Washington to U.S. support for the contras, according to many diplomats here.

"The Iran-contra scandal severely weakened Reagan's policies in the region and we must take advantage of that weakness to seek backing for political solutions to the Central American conflict," said Guatemalan lawmaker Edmond Mulet, a member of the country's congressional foreign relations commission and a supporter of the Arias plan.

Not surprisingly, then, top Reagan officials have lobbied U.S. allies during numerous trips to the region since February in an effort to modify the plan, according to diplomats here.

In mid-June, following a tour of the region by the U.S. administration's roving ambas-

sador to Central America, Philip Habib, Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte suddenly requested that the presidents' conference be postponed to incorporate modifications to the peace plan. That raised a wave of accusations about U.S. pressures on El Salvador.

Gambling for guns: Congressional Democrats in Washington say that by postponing the conference the Reagan administration hopes to sway the congressional vote on contra aid in October. "Reagan doesn't want to kill the Arias initiative, but rather keep just enough life in it to argue for more assistance to the contras to keep pressuring the Sandinistas to negotiate," said Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-CT), head of the Senate subcommittee on Western hemisphere and Peace Corps affairs.

The conference's postponement nearly led to a total collapse of negotiations. Nicaragua accused the U.S. and El Salvador of sabotaging the Arias plan by imposing the discussion of U.S. concerns.

El Salvador proposed meetings of regional foreign ministers to revive the peace act before the presidential summit. It was a plan that did not go over well in Managua.

"The proposed pre-meetings of foreign ministers would only lead to heated discussion and polarization, weakening the peace talks and any possibility of a negotiated solution, and we won't fall into that trap," charged Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who announced Nicaragua's withdrawal from the conference. But late last month, after Contadora promised to assist

"Reagan doesn't want to kill the Arias initiative, but rather keep just enough life in it to argue for more assistance to the contras to keep pressuring the Sandinistas."

in coordinating the ministerial meetings and help plan the conference, Nicaragua suddenly reversed its position. That cleared the way for the summit to be tentatively reset for early August.

Contadora's role: Despite its willingness to negotiate, Nicaragua's main concern is the Arias plan's apparent isolation of Contadora. In contrast to the Arias proposal's emphasis on "democratization," the Contadora effort stresses mutual non-aggression agreements, as well as respect for self-determination and non-intervention in the affairs of sovereign states as the basis for peace.

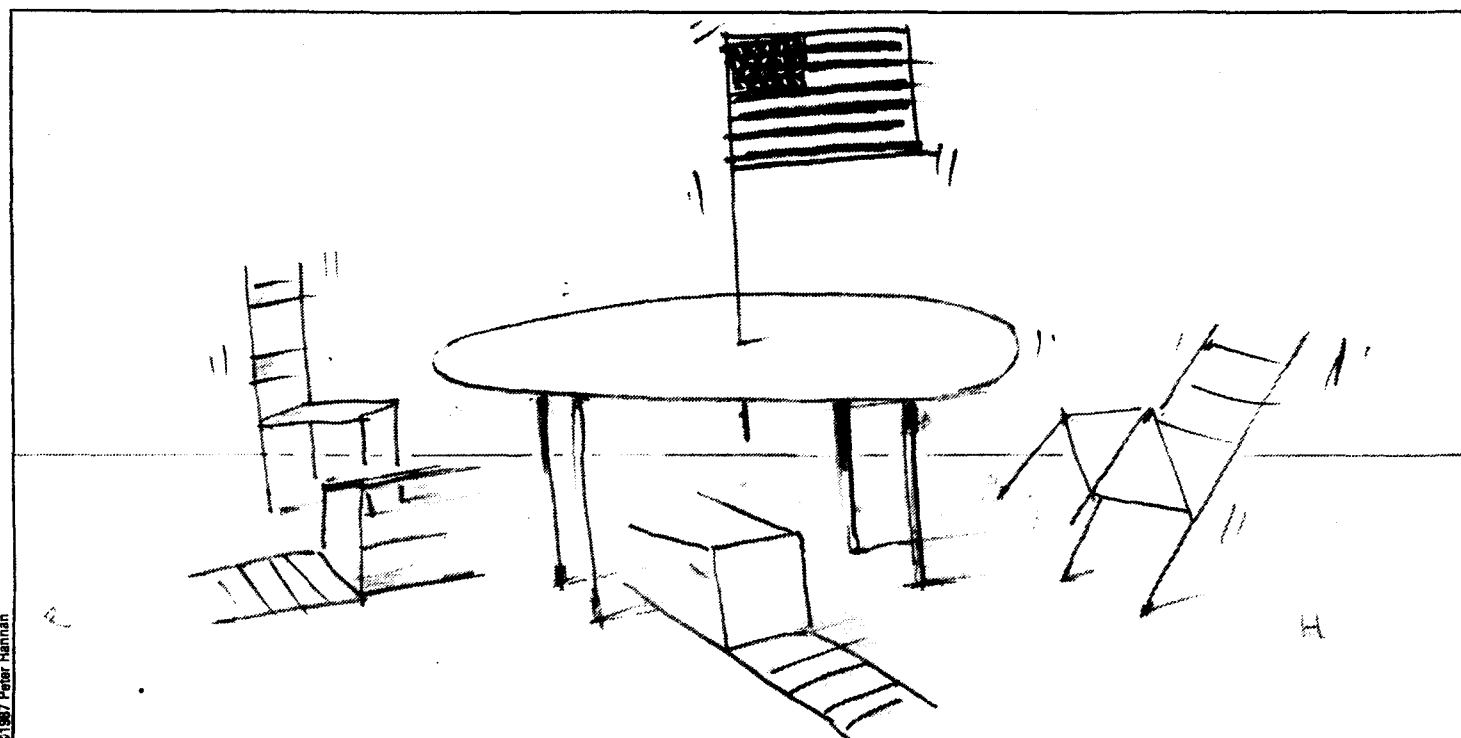
Indeed, Contadora's three-year deliberations broke down in 1986 when the Reagan administration and its regional allies charged that the Contadora peace pact provided no guarantees that Nicaragua would abide by it. They accused the group of partiality toward the Sandinistas.

Nicaragua, which supports the reactivation of Contadora negotiations alongside discussion of the Arias plan, hopes the group's participation will buffer U.S. pressures. Costa Rica also supports Contadora's assistance. Guatemala, which maintains a "neutral" policy in Central America and has resisted U.S. pressures to align against Nicaragua, may propose a fusion of the Contadora and Arias peace acts at the presidential conference, according to sources in the Guatemalan Foreign Relations Ministry.

Still, the signing of a peace pact in August is unlikely. Nicaragua will adamantly reject negotiations with the contras as proposed by El Salvador and Honduras. Likewise, the latter two countries, strapped to U.S. military and economic aid, will resist arms-limitations agreements.

"We have to be realistic," Guatemalan Deputy Foreign Minister Luis Chea told *In These Times*. "If the Reagan administration is intent on breaking the peace negotiations there is little we can do. Until the U.S. understands its dollars are better invested in Democratic processes than destabilization, anyone who expects the signing of a regional peace act is out of focus."

Kevin Robinson is *In These Times'* correspondent in Guatemala.



Debt

Continued from page 8

swiftly and protect its reserves.

Miracle swaps: The expanding secondary debt market, believed to have reached \$6 billion this year, has provided relief for debtors and creditors alike. Through ornate swaps involving higher-value debt for lower-value debt, bankers have been able to adjust their portfolios and make undesirable loans "disappear" with no loss registered. In this way debts from countries such as Nicaragua and Bolivia, which trade at less than 10 percent of their face value on the secondary market, have been cast off by the banks and replaced with larger amounts of Mexican and Brazilian debt, which are trading for about 60 percent of their face value.

Debtors have turned the secondary market to their advantage by encouraging investors to use discounted debt to make capital

investments, and in a few cases by directly purchasing their own debt back at bargain-basement prices. In Brazil, for example, the Fiat auto company expanded its plant there by using a "debt capitalization" scheme. The company bought Brazilian debt at a discount and delivered it to the central bank. The bank registered the debt as if it were a new investment and gave Fiat the *cruzado* equivalent of the face value of the debt to be invested locally. By attracting investors with these cheap secondary-debt prices and simultaneously imposing strict profit and capital repatriation limits, Brazil, Mexico and Chile together hope next year to convert around \$7 billion from debt to equity investments.

Direct purchases by debtor countries of their own debt is one of the most audacious trends on capital markets, and has still not been officially recognized. But Richard Weinert of New York's Leslie, Weinert & Co. investment banking firm notes that there

have been substantial purchases of Argentine and Peruvian debt under circumstances that suggest government involvement, though officially they have been private transactions. Weinert points to the Peruvian case as "especially interesting...since its debt commands only about 22 cents on the dollar. Peru may have concluded that using \$22 million to retire \$100 million in debt makes more sense than using this sum at face value to make a small dent in overdue interest, which now exceeds \$600 million."

Still strapped: Capital markets have adjusted quicker than anybody else to the debt crisis' realities, but the possibilities for converting or retiring debt remain limited and at most amount to 2 percent of the total \$380 billion the region owes. Meanwhile, big debtors like Argentina and Mexico are still strapped with a foreign debt that equals about 70 percent of gross domestic product, and in the latter case a service payment bill that is

more than 200 percent of annual export earnings. The banks' recent run on setting aside loan loss reserves doesn't automatically imply a writing off of the debtors' burden, but surely the writing is on the wall.

Suddenly Sen. Bill Bradley's (D-NJ) \$57 billion debt relief plan no longer sounds so far-fetched or utopian. Since last year he has pushed a three-year relief package that would reduce interest rates by three percentage points and write off 9 percent of the outstanding debt. The Fed and the Treasury oppose this proposal, claiming the losses would be so hard on the banks that debt-relief would have an "adverse impact on the supply of credit to all developing countries." But this worst-case scenario has already happened. The banks are taking their lumps and then lending, contrary to the \$7 billion in bank loans to Latin America targeted by last year's "Baker Plan," was actually down by more than \$1.6 billion during the first half of last year.

These latest twists, along with the fiasco over getting the banks to participate in Mexico's debt-rescheduling and the predicted failure of some 200 small and medium-sized banks this year have led even such market-oriented conservatives as ex-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick to trumpet the need for a full-scale "Marshall Plan" to turn the situation around. Japan has taken the first important step with its three-year commitment of \$30 billion in credits to be channelled to developing countries through the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Carol Wise is a visiting researcher at the Institute for Peruvian Studies in Lima, Peru.

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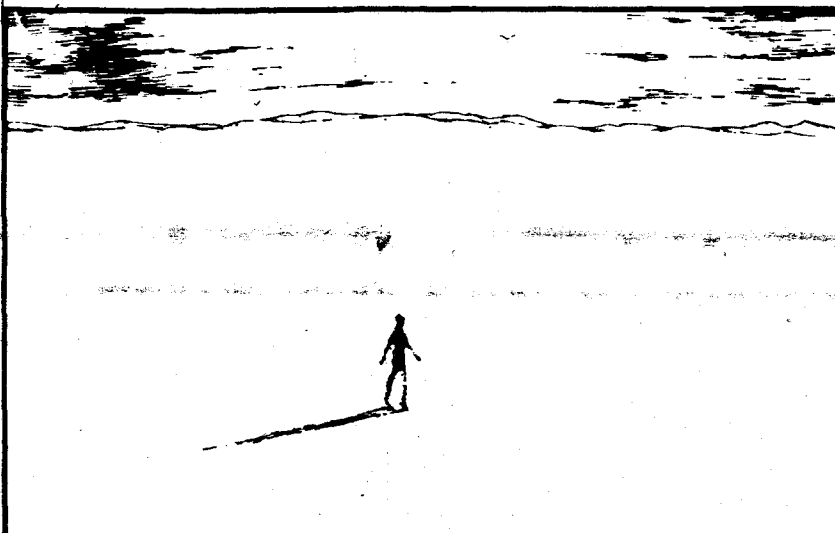
Four years ago, *Sojourners* helped create Witness For Peace, which continues to be an important peaceful presence in Nicaragua, challenging the Reagan administration's foreign policy there.

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By Jo Ann Kawell

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

THE SATELLITE PHOTOS ARE A BIT GRAINY, but they show every road and waterway, every patch of vegetation, every building in the Bolivian jungle region called the Chapare. U.S. analysts here are using the photos as a tool in planning the latest battle in an ongoing war—the Reagan administration's "war on drugs."

Many of the white patches on the photos, the expert explains, are fields of coca—the plant from which cocaine is made. The roads and rivers are used to transport coca from the fields to the cocaine labs which operate in even more remote jungle regions. And a count of the buildings allows the experts to estimate the rapidly growing population of the area.

Fifteen years ago the Chapare was a sparsely settled frontier area. Now it is one of South America's most important coca production centers, and the source of a large portion—probably more than three-fourths—of the estimated 450 tons of cocaine produced in Bolivia last year. The enormity of the problem prompted Bolivian and U.S. officials to sign an agreement in February implementing a three-year plan to battle Bolivia's growing drug trade.

The battle plan: The plan takes a dual approach to the problem, calling for both continuous police action against cocaine labs and traffickers, and a campaign to persuade coca producers to switch to other crops. U.S. officials are training Bolivian drug police and providing intelligence on drug operations. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) is carrying out a major crop-substitution program in the Chapare. AID is set to spend up to \$70 million in the first year of the plan. The funding is contingent on the effectiveness of Bolivia's drug-control push, which is being aided by a multi-million-dollar effort from other U.S. agencies.

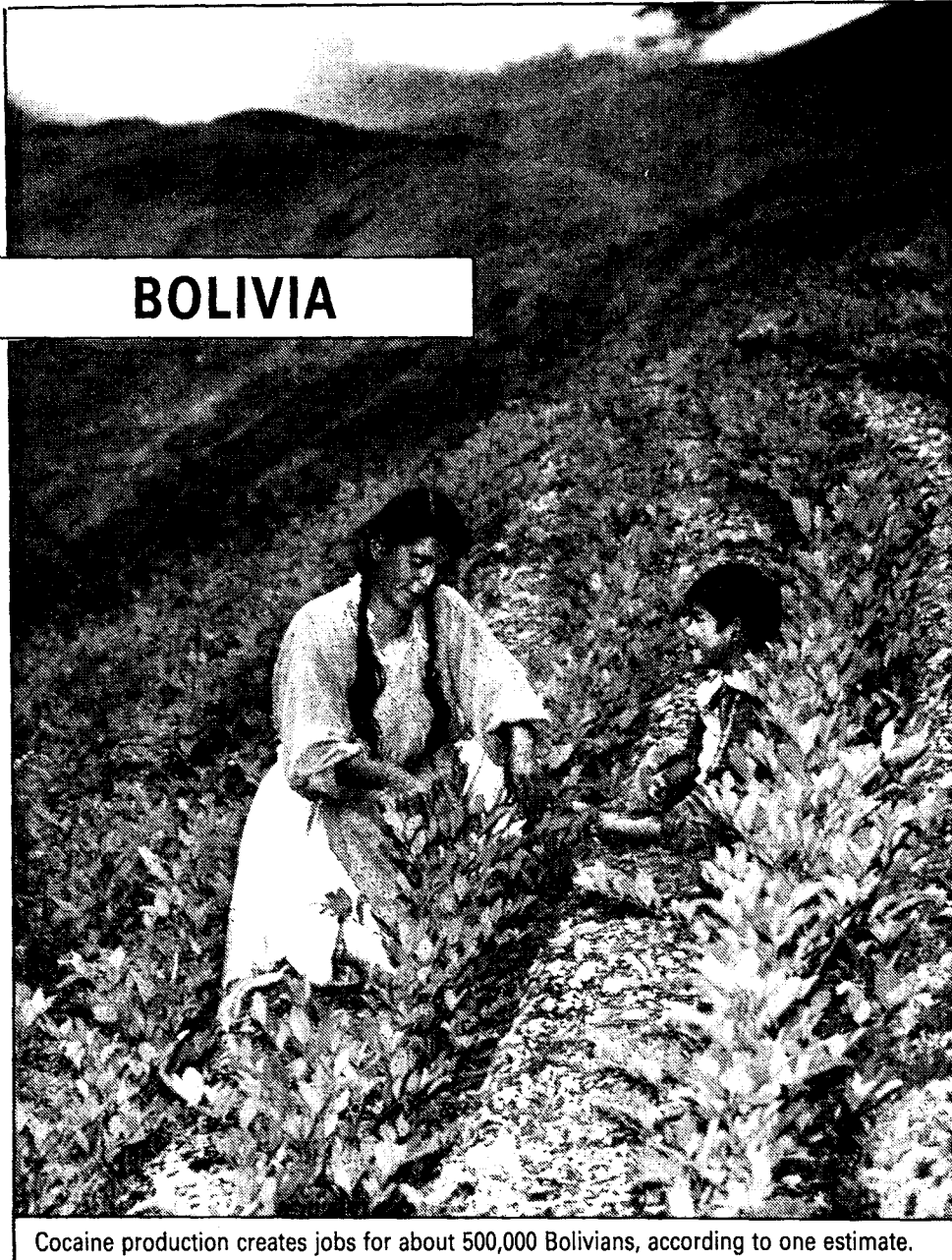
The government of Bolivian President Victor Paz Estenssoro has made the plan an integral part of its overall three-year economic plan. U.S. officials say they are pleased that the Bolivians have placed such a high priority on the matter.

But many Bolivians take a dimmer view of the way the U.S.-mandated "war on drugs" is being conducted in their country. The U.S. role caused a major political uproar last July, when the Reagan administration sent six Blackhawk helicopters and 174 U.S. troops into the Bolivian jungle to search out cocaine labs and drug traffickers.

The arrival of the troops touched off demonstrations in the streets of La Paz, with protesters demanding that the "Yankees" go home. In several remote locations the U.S. soldiers found themselves in potentially explosive confrontations with angry coca farmers. Opposition members of the Bolivian congress demanded that government ministers be investigated for bringing in the U.S. forces without congressional permission—a step that a government official later admitted was a violation of Bolivia's constitution.

Withdrawal pains: The protests were fueled not just by national pride, but also by real fears that effective repression of coca and cocaine production would destroy the Bolivian economy. Former Finance Minister Flavio Machicado does not think such fears are exaggerated. "I've said very clearly, every time I've had a chance, that there would be a social and economic catastrophe here" if the drug trade were wiped out without something to replace it.

The "formal"—or legal—Bolivian econ-



Cocaine production creates jobs for about 500,000 Bolivians, according to one estimate.

Peasants to pay the price for the U.S. war on drugs

omy has shrunk for six consecutive years. The world market for tin, once Bolivia's most important export, collapsed two years ago. After President Paz Estenssoro took office in August, 1985, he imposed an economic program that left 20,000 tin miners unemployed, raised petroleum prices 700 percent, removed subsidies from many products and froze the wages of all government workers.

The Paz program has won the praise of international leaders and the International Monetary Fund. But many economists here say the only thing keeping it afloat is cocaine dollars. Machicado estimates that Bolivia's cocaine production is worth more than \$2 billion a year on the world market, and that about \$600 million came back to Bolivia from cocaine sales last year. That's an amount almost equal to the value of Bolivia's legal exports.

According to Machicado's figures, cocaine production creates jobs for about 500,000 people in Bolivia: about 200,000 people make their living as coca farmers and another 300,000 are employed as merchants, buying and selling contraband goods indirectly obtained with cocaine proceeds.

And unlike many countries where the drug economy benefits mostly a small mafia of drug dealers, in Bolivia the effects of the cocaine trade trickle down to all levels of society. While unemployed miners' wives feed their families by selling contraband cassette tapes on La Paz street corners, housewives manage to prop up their battered middle-class budgets by buying Chilean wine

and Brazilian corn flakes at bargain prices in the city's sprawling black market.

Seeds of dissent: So far, though, the most vocal opposition to the U.S.-backed drug control program has come from one of the groups that will be most directly affected by the program: the coca farmers. Growing and selling coca is now legal in Bolivia, only manufacture and sale of cocaine is illegal. The

Bolivian and U.S. officials signed an agreement in February implementing a three-year plan to battle Bolivia's growing drug trade. But one expert predicts "a social and economic catastrophe" if the drug trade is wiped out without something to replace it.

coca plant has been grown here since the time of the Incas, and it still has religious and cultural significance. Every year 15,000 tons of coca leaves are brewed as tea or chewed as a mild stimulant.

Now the Bolivian government—reportedly under intense pressure from the U.S.—

plans to make coca production against the law in all but a limited area for "traditional uses." Coca farmers will be given a year to switch their crops voluntarily. After that coca plots will be eradicated by force.

But according to Armando Chavez, who represents coca farmers in Bolivia's national *campesino* federation, "There's no other product that can substitute for coca." He says prices for other crops are too low for a family farmer to survive. The government is promising financial assistance to farmers who switch crops within the one-year time limit. But Bolivia is offering the farmers only \$2,000 for every family that takes its land out of coca production.

The average annual income from a hectare of coca plants is between \$10,000 and \$15,000, so the coca farmers aren't buying the proposal. "They're going to defend their production to the ultimate consequences," says Chavez. He predicts a wave of violence in coca growing areas if the government tries to go through with the plan.

Chavez says that despite the federation's defense of coca farmers, "We're squarely against the drug traffickers." Roger Cortez, a Socialist Party congressman who has been a leading critic of the U.S. role, agrees. "Cocaine creates corruption and criminality. It's destroying our state institutions, eroding our social unity."

But Cortez believes the U.S. "has very little authority to decide the rules of the game because long experience around the world shows us that the U.S. drug control policy has always been a failure."

Real solutions: As a first step toward an effective drug control program, Cortez proposes measures that would "strike hard against the drug traffickers, not the *campesinos*." He charges that Bolivia's drug enforcement police force is so corrupt that it would be impossible to reform. Therefore, he suggests the formation of a new, specially trained unit. He also calls for the repeal of a government economic measure apparently aimed at keeping dollars earned in the cocaine trade in Bolivia.

If the Bolivian government was serious about cracking down on the drug trade, Chavez said, it would instead conduct rigorous investigations of the source of funds deposited in Bolivia and "the U.S. should give us a list of Bolivians with bank accounts in the U.S. so we can check into those, too."

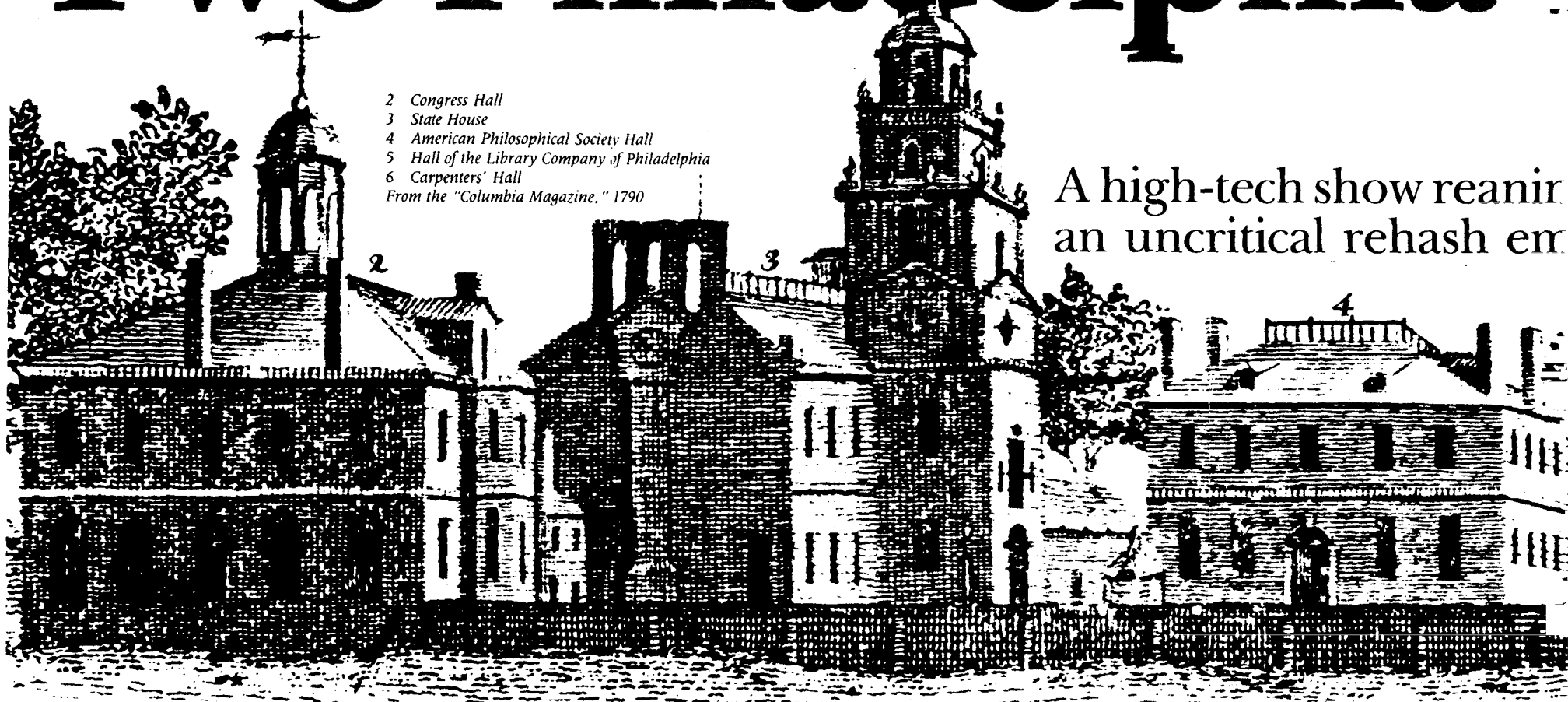
But the heart of any successful drug control program in Bolivia, says Cortez and others, is a comprehensive economic development program aimed not just at coca farmers but at the whole battered economy. The price tag for such a program: as much as \$2 billion a year. It's a price that seems shockingly high, but Cortez points out that it's just a fraction of what consumers in the developed world spend on drugs. "If the U.S. and other countries don't want to give aid for all that we need, then we're in agreement: no aid," he says. "But no economic aid, no foreign advisers, no foreign military. With our own means, with our own resources, we'll overcome the cocaine problem."

In the meantime, the satellite photos show the drug traffickers may be far ahead with their own development plans in the Chapare. They've built roads and installed electric generators. Officials say they've even started teaching *campesinos* to make cocaine paste at home. It's the kind of small-scale agro-industrial project that, unless offered a real alternative, more and more Bolivians will find hard to resist.

Jo Ann Kawell is a journalist based in Peru.

IN THESE TIMES JULY 8-21, 1987 11

Two Philadelphia



A high-tech show reanimates an uncritical rehash of

The Constitution of the United States, its meaning and the ways in which it has changed to meet changing conditions have a special significance in this 200th anniversary year. As the contragate hearings are making clear, the idea of upholding and defending the Constitution has many meanings. And as recent speeches by Attorney General Edwin Meese demonstrate, the Constitution has had many ideological uses.

With this issue we begin a series of articles on the Constitution as a living framework for democratic government in the United States. Our first piece, by Mike Wallace, is a review of the ways the Constitution is being presented to the public in two bicentennial exhibitions in Philadelphia, the site of the 1787 convention at which it was written. Future pieces will discuss the founding of the Constitution, the presidency, free speech, the 14th Amendment and the collective rights of labor.

By Mike Wallace

PHILADELPHIA

MY EXPECTATIONS WERE NOT HIGH AS I boarded a Philadelphia-bound Amtrak train south to Constitution country. It was bicentennial time again, and given the recent Statue of Liberty rededication, this was a dispiriting thought. The bash served up an unpleasant brew of Reaganite reaction and corporate commercialism. And so far, under ex-Chief Justice Burger's stewardship, the Constitution's 200th birthday party has been a windy and pious affair (apart from Justice Thurgood Marshall's tart interjection on the subject of slavery). The odds were not good that the two bicentennial museum exhibits—which *In These Times* had commissioned me to investigate—would depart from the standards set by official orators.

But a pleasant surprise awaited me. Even

though one of the presentations—the inauspiciously entitled "Miracle at Philadelphia"—lived down to expectations, the other show—despite its ponderous moniker, "A Promise of Permanency: the Constitution of the United States through 200 Years"—represented something of a breakthrough in popular presentations of historical material. Were I rating it in a Michelin Green guide it would warrant if not Three Stars (Worth a Journey) then certainly Two (Worth a Detour).

The Constitution, MTV-style: "Promise of Permanency," commissioned by the National Park Service and housed in its Independence National Historical Park Visitors Center, is a state-of-the-art electronic examination of how the Constitution adapted to American society changing over the years, and to show how it matters today. On entering, visitors are confronted by a gigantic panoramic photomural composed of scenes from two centuries of our history (including a full-scale anti-Vietnam demonstration with one huge picket sign proclaiming "Stop this Lousy War!" and another demanding the release of the Fort Hood Three). These images form a dynamic backdrop to the guts of the exhibit: dozens of television monitors, each stuffed with a novel combination of laser disk, computer and touch-screen technologies.

The screens are grouped into three areas. In the first, each monitor presents a viewer with images scrolling slowly from right to left. Each image (a face, a cartoon, a photograph) represents a key historical event—usually a Supreme Court decision or a piece of congressional legislation. Together the 75 images, arranged chronologically, constitute a time line of American constitutional history from 1787 to the present. At any point the visitor may reach out and touch a passing image. Immediately, the screen clears, and a 60-second video is aired that treats the issue depicted by the image. In the earliest cases (the 1798 use of the Alien and Sedition Acts to squelch dissent, the protection of private contracts in the 1819 Dartmouth College case), the videos rely on stills and text. In the more contemporary in-

stances (the 1944 rulings on interning Japanese-Americans, the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, *Roe vs. Wade's* 1973 legalization of abortion) the presentations add dramatic film and video clips of demonstrations and debates to the mix. It's not exactly MTV, but the capsule histories are punchy and pithy.

In terms of content, the time line promotes the defensible proposition that there has been a steady expansion of citizen rights over the years through constitutional amendments or

THE CONSTITUTION 200 YEARS

judicial/legislative activity (though the presentation also documents the many steps backward that delayed or occasionally reversed progress).

Both text and images convey the impression that citizens have shaped American history as much as have black-robed judges. The 19th Amendment was a response to the suffrage movement, the Smith Act convictions of Communists were sustained in a climate of fear and repression and it took the black movement to win the Civil Rights Act, thus securing blacks "long-denied constitutional rights."

Tackling controversy: Perhaps most remarkable of all, the exhibit does not shy away from tackling extremely controversial contemporary issues. The second bank of monitors displays a menu of hot topics: aid to parochial schools, birth control, compulsory flag salutes, gays' rights in the classroom, picketers' rights, monopolistic economic practices, creationism, gun control, the ERA, regulation of pornography and on and on. As in the first section, touching a particular issue summons a 60-second video mini-presentation. Each first informs us of which constitutional provisions apply to the issue in question then presents exponents of "both sides" (e.g., *Bella Abzug vs. Phyllis Schlafly* on the ERA).

When constitutional law on a given issue is well established and free from serious political attack, the voice-over comes down firmly on one side: picketing, though subject to government's responsibility to preserve order, "is protected by the First Amendment" and "is a time-honored form of communicating grievances." In other instances, the narrator walks a finely balanced line, presents dissenting judicial opinions and notes that the matter of creationism or abortion remains "highly controversial."

The most controversial topics get a still deeper airing in the third area. A group of plinths studded with monitors present two- or three-minute debates between articulate and forceful spokespersons on "both sides" of (for example) the death penalty. At the end (in some stations) you are encouraged to vote (courtesy of touch-screen technology) for the arguments you found most compelling (you can't record your vote before the debate is finished). Then your response is compared to the running tallies kept in the computer's memory bank. When I was there, shortly after the opening, 493 participants had expressed themselves on the death penalty: 49.1 percent opposed, 47.5 percent in favor, and 3.4 percent unsure. (Interestingly, far fewer had weighed in on the matter of affirmative action. Of the 97 respondents, 15.5 percent were opposed, 15.5 percent were in favor, but 69 percent were not at all sure which way to come down on the matter.)

"Promise of Permanency" represents a startling departure from conventional popular presentations of historical material. While the fusty and filiopietistic shrines of the '50s have long been replaced by dynamic exhibits that recall warts as well as wonders, most museum designers fail to connect the past with the present by noting that the periods they examine were part of a living continuum. Industrial museums now recount 19th-century worker discontent with capitalism, but avoid noting that capitalism and conflict remain facts of contemporary life—even when the industrial museums are themselves located in old factories aban-

Times:

ates the Constitution;
alms it.



done by capitalists now happily relocated in Singapore.

Promising tremors: "Promise" shakes the windows and rattles the walls of conventional museology. Not only does it connect past and present with a vengeance but it also avoids the omniscient stance embedded in most presentations by admitting that historical (like contemporary) perspectives are open to various interpretations.

It is remarkable that the show is ultimately the responsibility of the Reagan administration, which elsewhere has busied itself with rescuing conventional pieties from the attacks of critical historians and dissenters. Partly this suggests the considerable leeway carved out by the current generation of National Park Service historians, many of whom are veterans of the social history wars of recent decades. Partly it is due to the peculiarities of the funding process. This is an expensive exhibit—\$1.3 million, most of which was provided by Bell of Pennsylvania. The *quid* Bell extracted for its *quo* was relatively modest: a little display on "The Promise of Technology" tucked off in a corner where TV videos muse on such topics as what might have happened at the Convention if the Framers had had access to modern communications.

Fair enough, and hardly as tacky as some of the Miss Liberty corporate tie-ins, though it remains disgraceful that because the government will fund cruise missiles rather than public education we must turn to telephone manufacturers.

Still, despite my reservations about "public-private cooperation," in this case it seems to have worked well, although it will take time to see how people respond. Children are ecstatic about it. Pre-fifth graders swarm over the area, poking at screens for the sheer delight of making things happen. Gaggles of teens giggle at the more controversial topics; they concentrate on materials dealing with sex discrimi-

nation and gay teachers.

Older users tend to hesitate at actually touching the screens (when they can find one not surrounded by a pack of 10-year-olds). Courteous young guides (curiously, all female) facilitate usage for the wary. But once absorbed, people seem to spend considerable time pondering the electronic information. All in all, a cheery sight for a professional historian often exasperated by our general ahistorical culture.

An unsatisfactory miracle: When visitors leave "Promise" they can walk a few blocks to the Second Bank of the United States and take in the "Miracle at Philadelphia" show—a very



different kind of experience. For one thing, the designers were set a different task: to explain the origins of the Constitution. They also worked with more traditional artifacts: the show incorporates portraits and documents into a narrative exposition, picking up the pace only occasionally with quickie-videos, multiscreen slide shows and the odd "hands-on" opportunity. The exhibit is handsomely produced. But the content is unsatisfactory.

The show (in a sense, all too successfully) recreates the world view of the Framers—the merchants, planters, speculators and lawyers who formed the core of the nationalist party. It states their case compellingly, but fails to provide any critical perspective or sense of distance from that perspective. As a result the exhibit creates an impression that only the Framers had a legitimate position on the Constitution. In an odd way, a sophisticated analysis of a late 18th-century *mentale*, turns into its opposite, the kind of uncritical celebration characteristic of a turn-of-the-century pageant.

The first in a sequence of exhibit spaces presents the nationalists' perspective on the 1780s Articles of Confederation—the country was going to hell in a handbasket. "Advocates of public order" (the show says) were particularly distressed at what James Madison called "rampant democracy in the states." The nationalists are shown anguishing over such threats to "liberty and property" as the rebellion of farmers led by Daniel Shays, who "claimed" they could not pay their debts or taxes. To forestall the disaffection of those John Jay called "the better kind of people," the nationalists proposed a strong central government.

The exhibit, throughout, makes perfectly clear that the framers feared an "excess of democracy" and the "danger of levelling spirit"; that they were out to limit popular power; and that the Constitution represented an end run on the popularly controlled state legislatures in a way calculated to catapult the upper classes into the national driver's seat. None of this is presented as being the least bit questionable. By its silence, the show seems to endorse the elite's point of view.

Countering rampant democracy: The problem worsens as we move into a sequence of exhibit spaces that invite us to imagine ourselves delegates. We are asked to take a badge, to swear ourselves to secrecy—without ever explaining why secrecy was required—and to promise to consider the arguments of our fellow delegates. We are then shepherded through a panel that supposedly allowed us to ponder different sides of a given issue but in fact ham-handedly manipulated us into endorsing the wisdom of whatever the Convention finally agreed upon. Most objectionable here is the treatment of slavery. We are asked to move levers around in a way that is presumed open-ended but in fact forces us to reject pro-slavery and anti-slavery extremists and come down on the side of "compromise for the sake of Union."

In its one departure from seeing the world through Federalist eyes, an adjoining panel informs us that the "compromise" eventually proved "futile," but the presentation still leaves us with the preposterous notion that the Constitution represented a compromise on slavery. It was, of course, nothing of the sort: it guaranteed and underwrote slaveholders' rights and even extended them, providing a national army to suppress insurrections and a fugitive-slave provision that ensured the return

of runaways.

The remaining sections are equally inaccurate. A discussion of checks and balances cleverly employs an orrery, an 18th-century model of the solar system, to convey the notion of the government as a mechanical process. By failing to provide critical commentary, however, the show provides a *de facto* endorsement of the idea that government is a stately matter of keeping institutions balanced rather than a participation in the hurly-burly world of politics and popular action.

Near the end, after all of our supposed consideration of different points of view, we are confronted with a station that asks us, "Would you have endorsed the Constitution?" and provides us a pen with which to register our approbation. This is the symbolic culmination of the show, conceived of as a way for today's generation to repledge itself to the Founders' project. It is also the show's most annoyingly manipulative feature. Not only is there no way to register a *negative* judgment but it is only after signing (or declining) that we are directed to the exhibit's final part, dealing with ratification. Here we learn, for the first time, and way too late in the day (especially as most people leave before they get this far), that "Many Americans, perhaps even a majority in 1787, opposed the Constitution."

It seems that the antifederalists, whose objections we now hear for the first time, "worried most about the loss of state sovereignty and the 'aristocratic' character of the new government," and claimed the Constitution was a power grab by "a few rich and great men." Despite all this, as we go out the door, we are informed that the Bill of Rights—which was brought into existence only at antifederalist insistence—was the "culmination of the process set in motion by the nationalists."

A possible subtext: Now let me be clear that I am *not* arguing that the exhibit's designers (Richard Rabinowitz's American History Workshop) should have promoted Charles Beard's old proposition that the Constitution represented a counterrevolution by the propertied, a goodly number of whom were out to feather their own nests. If anything, that might in fact be the show's closet agenda: it has compiled so many quotes illustrating the Framers' contempt for democracy that a critically minded or knowledgeable viewer could create a subtext that runs quite against the grain of the show's superficially celebratory perspective.

(Examination of another of the show's slide presentations, misleadingly billed as an account of who the nationalists were, supports this hypothesis. On the one hand, it totally eschews any social analysis: it presents assorted bits of facts about the Framers but never nails down the main point, that they were almost exclusively drawn from the upper classes. But the slide show *does* note that eight delegates were business associates of Robert Morris. Though this means absolutely nothing to anyone not a specialist in 18th-century history, it is perhaps meant as a coy reminder to the cognoscenti that many of these guys were speculating in the national debt and hoped to make a killing in the market if a new central government paid off depreciated paper at face value—which it did).

Continued on page 16

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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WE CAN'T RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE—IT'S A TEACHING TOOL FOR YOUNG PEOPLE



IT MAKES TEENAGERS WAGE EARNERS BY HIRING THEM AS WAGE LEARNERS



WHAT ABOUT ALL THE OLDER WORKERS TRYING TO SUPPORT FAMILIES ON \$3.35/HR.?



ADULT EDUCATION!



Minimum wage is coming up

With budget deficits and welfare reform high on the political agendas of both parties, legislation to increase the minimum wage is particularly important. Hearings in both Senate and House committees considering minimum-wage increases are scheduled for this month, and bills should be brought to the floor of both houses by late summer or early fall.

In the '60s and '70s, the minimum wage generally provided a family of three enough income to escape official poverty. But with the current minimum still at \$3.35 per hour—it was last increased in 1981—it now falls \$2,100 short of the official poverty level. In fact, the minimum wage's real value is now at its lowest level since 1955. A full-time, year-round worker earning the current minimum will bring home \$6,968 a year, only 77 percent of the estimated poverty threshold of \$9,044 for a family of three.

An increase of one dollar—to \$4.35 per hour—would again bring the minimum wage about up to the poverty line for a full-time, year-round worker with two dependents. Tying further increases to changes in inflation would keep it there.

Conservatives argue against an increase in minimum wages—and, in fact, for its elimination—on the ground that higher minimums mean fewer jobs for unskilled teenagers, especially blacks. The evidence for this is questionable, but even if there were some truth to it, the fact is that some 70 percent of those earning minimum wages are 20 years or older, with 48 percent over 25. And while blacks and Hispanics are disproportionately represented, 83 percent of those earning the minimum wage are white—and 63 percent are women.

Higher minimum wages would not mean fewer jobs overall. It would mean fewer people needing public assistance, and it would give unemployed youths a slightly greater incentive to find work. Conservatives should understand this. Since greed is their operative principle, doesn't it make sense to make work more attractive than welfare?

South Korea surges toward democratic government

In a stunningly sudden—though in some form inevitable—reversal of its long-standing denial of democratic rights, South Korea's ruling party capitulated last week to opposition demands for direct presidential elections and other democratic reforms. The decisive step was taken by Roh Tae Woo, handpicked successor-designate of Presi-

dent Chun Doo Hwan, a former general who seized power in 1979 after his predecessor, Park Chung Hee, who led an army coup in 1961 and then had himself elected president, was assassinated. Roh's bold move instantly ended South Korea's political crisis, which only a few days earlier seemed intractable.

As in the Philippines and Haiti, South Korea's Reagan administration-supported dictator was defeated with minimal force by a population solidly united in opposition to the regime. Led by increasingly determined student demonstrations, all sections of South Korean society joined in demands for freedom of the press, the right to organize political parties and for various social reforms.

Since 1948, when the notorious Syngman Rhee was installed as the Republic of Korea's first president, students have played a leading role in opposition movements. In 1960, Rhee was forced out of office after 125 demonstrating students were killed by police, setting off nationwide protests and ushering in South Korea's only period—nine months—of relatively democratic rule. In the years since the mid-'60s, reflecting the modernization and growth of South Korea's economy, the number of colleges and universities has grown from 70 to 201 and the number of students from 109,000 to 1,277,000. And the students, in a society with a deep respect for education and learning, have become the nation's best organized and most effective political force.

Like Japan, South Korea has been a nation of economic miracles. Since the '40s, per capita gross national product has grown from less than \$200 to \$2,200. In 1965 there was only one car for every 2,600 people and .8 telephones per 100; now there is a car for every 85 people and 14 telephones per 100. Last year South Korea's economy grew by 12.5 percent, and it is now growing even more rapidly. This has been made possible by a combination of massive American aid, accessibility to the most modern technology and a culture of discipline. But despite a rapidly increasing standard of living, dissatisfaction has been widespread.

In its own way, and despite vastly different economies, South Korea's experience is similar to Poland's in 1980. In both instances, an increasingly educated and literate working population found the continued denial of civil liberties and political rights unbearable. In both nations the political system was conflicting too sharply with the nation's needs. Unfortunately for the Solidarity movement, the presence of Soviet troops frustrated their victory.

The South Koreans have been more fortunate. A combination of the massive popular movement, the need for stability and international respectability before the 1988 Olympic games in Seoul and an American administration increasingly sensitive to world opinion about its support of right-wing dictatorships made this initial victory possible.

LETTERS

Clarity

YOUR PAPER HAS ALWAYS BEEN LUKEWARM ON gay issues, but your editorial "AIDS Plan Merits Thought..." (ITT, June 10) shows your homophobia clearly. While you take the Reagan administration to task at every turn on other issues, you're in bed with them on AIDS.

Your editorial spouts the same tired refrain that privacy must be "weighed against the threat to another's life that failing to test and notify entails." Testing will protect no one. In fact, it may lull "negatives" into thinking that safer sex rules do not apply to them. Testing is an expensive way to tell people the same thing. If you test positive, you either stop having sex or use condoms. If you test negative, you either stop having sex or use condoms. Testing, discrimination aside, is an expensive farce.

It's absurd that your June 10 issue carried articles on an obscure leftist in Portugal and Wall Street mergers but no report on the Third International Conference on AIDS. Your AIDS coverage is too little, too late. My money can be better spent—discontinue my subscription.

Marshall McClintock, Ph.D.
Arlington, Va.

AIDS slippery slope

YOUR EDITORIAL ABOUT AIDS TESTING (ITT, JUNE 10) is misguided and wrong. The issue is an important measure of one's political approach to the AIDS crisis. And it has already been politicized, like it or not, by right-wing political forces who correctly see AIDS, and AIDS antibody testing, as a tremendous opportunity to advance their authoritarian (and racist, sexist and homophobic) political agenda. For us to withdraw from this battle, as your editorial advised, means giving up the high ground and seriously weakening further efforts to stop the spread of AIDS.

Immigrant testing for infectious diseases may have ample precedent, as you say, but does that make it morally right? There's a rich irony in the prospect of the USA (single largest exporter of AIDS in the world today) screening out immigrants who carry the AIDS virus. And what about the thousands of persons, eligible for immigration amnesty under the Simpson-Rodino Bill, who will be denied and deported because they were exposed to AIDS while living in this country? What if their native countries, following the U.S. example, refuse to take them back? Your editorial is irresponsible in endorsing immigrant testing, without making mention of the tragic results that can be expected to follow.

Your concern for persons unknowingly exposed to AIDS by other AIDS carriers is meaningless as long as you accept the view that their main defense is widespread testing. How will testing (either voluntary or mandatory) serve to protect them? By itself, it will not. In order for testing truly to protect these "unknowing victims," you must publicly report the test results and, since no amount of reporting will reach everyone, you must physically isolate the AIDS virus carriers. I doubt if this is what you had in mind, but other pro-test advocates have thought it through more completely. Senators Jesse Helms and Alan Simpson have both pointed out, approvingly, that the logic

of testing leads to detention and quarantine. They're for it; we're against it. But if we both embrace testing as a technique for AIDS control, we've started down the same slippery slope.

Education always has been, and remains, our best weapon against AIDS. It is more effective, and no more expensive, than testing. It doesn't discriminate, require lists, or give falsely alarming nor falsely assuring "scientific" answers. It assumes that we are all at risk and should all adopt similar lower-risk practices.

Franz Martin
Los Angeles

There is no AIDS test

IT SEEMS UNLIKELY TO START CALLING THE Somozan bandits in Nicaragua "Freedom Fighters" or Oliver North "a misguided patriot," but on an issue that strikes much closer to home for many of your readers, your June 10 editorial buys into the language used by this dreadful administration to misdirect attention and effort in the AIDS crisis.

To talk of an "AIDS test" or to say that persons whose blood contains HIV antibodies are "infected with the AIDS virus" is to concede the premises of people who want to round up unpopular minorities, eliminate opposing views and otherwise turn the mainstream against the Bill of Rights (the drug and pornography scares work to the same ends). The most important thing to say in any discussion of AIDS testing is that *there is no AIDS test*. The present blood test does not register the presence of HIV, the virus widely (but not universally) declared to cause AIDS. It indicates only the presence of HIV antibodies—exposure, not infection.

Although the popular media (along with ITT) has begun to make the leap from "HIV antibody positive" to "infected with AIDS," the implications of testing positive are completely ambiguous. The person so labeled may or may not be infected, may or may not be infectious, may or may not go on to develop AIDS. True, the Centers for Disease Control propose that a certain percentage of those with HIV antibodies should be placed in each of these categories, but at this point, for any individual, a positive test is a warning signal, nothing less but nothing more.

Since a sexual partner may have had the virus but no antibodies at the time of testing or may have been exposed after testing, to rely on test results is a poor way to protect health and life. "To test and notify" offers only the illusion of security to the unexposed and certain damage to the people who will certainly be stigmatized. The only

effective civil liberty here is the right to precise information on how to avoid exposure. You don't need to know the antibody status of another person to insist on the use of a reliable condom or to content yourself with massage and masturbation. Anti-sex, anti-ACLU crusaders like Nat Hentoff are simply using people's fears of AIDS to further another agenda.

Today we have cancelled a recent two-year renewal of our subscription and gifts to both our families.

G.P. Gilbert, J.M. Matthew
Jersey City, N.J.

Editor's note: We did not mean to withdraw from the battle for AIDS education. Education is more important than testing at this point, but the issue has been politicized by those hoping to capitalize on public ignorance and fear of AIDS. We believe this may have tragic consequences as legislatures are stampeded into programs that ignore the advice of the medical community and others most knowledgeable about the disease.

It is certainly true that near-hysteria in some quarters about AIDS is fueled by homophobia, but AIDS is not a gay disease, it is simply a disease that in this country initially struck the gay community. Now, however, the incidence of new cases of AIDS infection among gays is declining sharply, thanks to educational efforts, while the disease is beginning to appear among the general population and may well begin increasing exponentially without adequate education.

The priority for public funding should be for educating the public and for research for a cure for AIDS. But testing is also important. There is an AIDS test, no matter that it is imperfect. Test results must be kept confidential where that is possible. But in principle we see no reason why an AIDS test for immigrants is different from similar tests that have long been mandatory for venereal and other diseases. This is the position the American Medical Association took at its recent convention. We agree with it.

Feticide

JOEL BLEIFUSS' READING OF THE ATTEMPT TO ban amniocentesis in India as a result of peoples' preference (7,999 out of 8,000) for aborting female fetuses (ITT, May 20) raises some vital questions.

If abortion isn't murder, there is little basis for complaint that more female fetuses are aborted than male fetuses. If human beings are not destroyed through abortion, then what can parents who abort female fetuses be accused of? Sexual discrimination against non-persons? The de-

struction of x-chromosomes?

On the other hand, if "female feticide" through abortion is considered "new-found evidence" for those practicing "infanticide," as the article states, then abortion is the murdering of babies by more technologically advanced means than were previously available.

Abortion on demand gives women a degree of control over their lives. It is considered necessary by a lot of people who know first-hand what happens to many unplanned and unwanted children and their parents. But it is also the destruction of human beings. Bleifuss has pointed out this contradiction. We have a choice. We can make abortion unnecessary and impossible. Or we can accept our complicity, for any number of reasons, in this particular form of murder.

Joe DiStefano
Philadelphia

Crime and racism

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S PIECE ON THE GROWING black prison population (ITT, June 10) offers a chilling commentary on the inability of the left to speak persuasively about serious social issues. The rising rate of imprisonment for black men speaks volumes about the marginalization of the black poor, but hysterical innovations of genocide, racism and the legacy of slavery have little weight with a crime-weary public. Most people in prison are victimizers as well as victims. Their violent behavior undermines civic and neighborhood life, most of all in the communities where they live. Criticism of the justice system that does not offer a persuasive program to reduce predatory behavior by low-income males will inevitably be regarded as utopian. It is sad that not one person quoted in the article spoke of the need for jobs, improved education and other programs that might improve the conditions of low-income people. We need redistributive justice, not campaigns to open the prison gates.

Moreover, attributing black imprisonment to "racism" plays right into the hands of conservatives who see criminality as an integral component of black lower-class culture. Differential rates of imprisonment are a telling commentary on our history of racial injustice, but solutions must start from the recognition of crime as a serious problem. No society, capitalist or socialist, can tolerate widespread victimization of law-abiding citizens in streets, apartments and public conveyances. If non-coercive measures cannot be developed to reduce criminal behavior, imprisonment will be demanded by an irate and fear-ridden public.

Mark Naison
Brooklyn, N.Y.

SYLVIA

Some Positive Aspects of Abusive Television Watching.



People who keep their fingers pressed on the Remote control button so that they can watch every T.V. show at once, are rarely called to testify at Congressional Hearings.

7-17

by Nicole Hollander



Klaus Barbie's career in South America: Terror did not end with the Holocaust

By John Friedman

THE TRIAL OF KLAUS BARBIE FOR CRIMES against humanity is expected to end soon, but most of the foreign journalists departed long ago.

Barbie's absence from the courtroom shifted attention to his victims. But victims often seem less interesting to the media than the torturers.

Those who sit patiently and listen to the terrible suffering of the Holocaust are forced into silence—witnesses to the witnesses. Even Jacques Verges, Barbie's contentious attorney, rarely speaks after the victims have testified.

A recurrent theme of the trial has been that Barbie's deeds in France should be remembered, that the lesson of the Holocaust must be: never again.

However, the pain that Barbie brought to thousands did not end in 1944 but continued into the '80s, when Barbie became a bridge between European Nazism and Latin American fascism. He is part of what Marcel Ophuls, the French filmmaker, has called the "diaspora of the torturers."

Unlike his victims who were left to pick up the pieces of their shattered lives after the war, Barbie received help in the post-war years from many sources. Within two years after the war had ended, he was work-

ing for American intelligence, spying on the Russians and European Communists.

While Sabina Zlatin, the woman in charge of Izieu, the home from which 44 children were deported by Barbie in 1944, was desperately trying to bring to justice the French informer who had betrayed the children to the Gestapo leader, Barbie himself was living comfortably in Germany—on the American payroll.

While Ita Halaunbrenner—whose husband had been shot by Barbie, whose eldest son had been deported by him to Auschwitz, and whose two youngest children were deported from Izieu—was still grieving, Barbie and his family were sent in 1951 along the "rat line" escape route to Latin America by U.S. officials.

In the late '60s, when Lise Lesevre, now in her 80s, was trying to regain the use of vertebrae broken by Barbie during a torture session, Barbie was rising to wealth and power in Bolivia as an adviser on interrogation and torture to numerous dictators and generals.

In Bolivia, Barbie taught President Hugo Banzer how to use the army for internal repression through various means including the use of concentration camps. Before Barbie, the Bolivians interrogated prisoners simply by beating them up. After Barbie, they turned to electrical torture.

A version of the Lyons trial could be held in La Paz, Bolivia with different witnesses telling similar stories.

For example, Mirna Murillo was tortured by Bolivian soldiers in the early '70s, after she was arrested for belonging to the ERN, the National Revolutionary Army, a small and ineffective guerrilla force. Her guards boasted to her about a lecture on interrogation that Barbie had recently given at the prison, according to Isabel Hilton, co-author of *The Nazi Legacy*. Others confirmed that Barbie had an office on the fourth floor of the Ministry of Interior and supervised internal security matters.

As a government adviser, he persuaded officials to buy certain weapons, including armored cars that were useful on the streets of La Paz. At the same time, as a private arms dealer, he received a substantial income from such sales, enabling him to buy several houses and travel abroad freely.

Besides having influential friends in La Paz, he also had influential friends in Lima, Peru. Thus, in 1972 when he was seen on Peruvian television and subsequently identified as Barbie (he had changed his name to Klaus Altmann), he avoided his pursuers, including Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld, by slipping across the border back to Bolivia with a Peruvian police escort.

In Latin America Barbie became a cult

hero of the far-right. "Some of the most savage and professional killers of the Italian ultra-right" as well as fascist sympathizers from Germany, France and even Switzerland gathered around him, according to Hilton and her co-authors.

Barbie was in touch with Germans such as Hans Ulrich Rudel, the former Nazi air force officer who was an adviser of President Stroessner of Paraguay and Gen. Pinochet of Chile.

In turn, Barbie helped his friends by either hiring them for the Bolivian government or by introducing them to drug dealers such as Roberto Suarez who needed recruits for his own private army.

The only witness who testified about Barbie's activities in Latin America before the court in Lyons was Gustavo Sanchez, the former interior minister of Bolivia under leftist President Siles Zuazo. Sanchez played a key role in Barbie's arrest and expulsion to France in February 1983.

At this point, what Barbie says or does, however, is far less important than the record that is being compiled. As Marek Halter, a French writer, said in a panel discussion one evening after the trial had recessed, the current period provides a brief window to fix into memory and history the facts of the Holocaust.

The trial is performing this task. But before it is too late the facts of what the Nazis did after the war in Europe and Latin America should also be recorded.

John S. Friedman is a co-producer of Marcel Ophuls' forthcoming film, *Hotel Terminus: The Life and Times of Klaus Barbie*.

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Constitution

Continued from page 13

But conspiracy, in my opinion, was not what the Constitution was all about. There is no question that the 55 gentlemen at Philadelphia set out to engineer a political document that would transfer power upward in the social scale (as the show implicitly notes). They were supposedly there just to reform the Articles, which almost everyone agreed were in need of strengthening (and whose deficiencies could in fact have been patched up without wholesale revision). If word got out they were violating their instructions the enterprise would have been sunk. Thus the secrecy rule. But this is not quite the same thing as a counterrevolution. For one thing, they had strong political support among the artisans and proletarians of the towns (whose independent perspective is totally ignored by the exhibit). For another, few Revolutionaries of 1776 had ever envisioned constructing a democracy in the first place. The republics they sought were never intended to grant political power to women, slaves or propertyless white males. In the 18th century, that was barely thinkable. (Though while the exhibit is right not to beat up anachronistically on the Framers for not living up to 20th-century standards, it might well have given at least passing attention to the way a world view that dismissed women, blacks and proletarians as inherently unworthy of civic participation supported particular gender and racial class interests.)

A radical project: By 1787, to be sure, in large part due to the impact of the revolutionary process itself, there were sharp disagreements over the proper extent of the propertied white male franchise and the bal-

ance of power between local and national institutions. But in the context of the monarchies and tyrannies of the day, the Constitution, for all its quite deliberate attempt to limit popular power, remained an astonishingly radical project.

The slightest smidgen of comparative perspective would have illuminated this fact. The Framers—unquestionably the new nation's elite—were small fry in the global—especially European, especially English—scheme of things. This is why the Framers (after they had reluctantly agreed to grant the safeguards of the Bill of Rights) were ultimately able to convince enough of the white male propertied small farmers—the overwhelming majority of the voting population—that taken as a whole the Constitution represented a multi-class compromise that would work to the benefit of the majority.

To raise such questions is to underline the number of opportunities "Miracle" missed. Imagine a show that considered the U.S. Constitution in comparison to other, more recent post-revolutionary state-making projects. The Framers were the first, but not the last, to worry about the possibility of a post-triumph flight of capital and skills (c.f. Cuba), to wrestle with the proper balance of national versus local/regional power (c.f. Zimbabwe), to puzzle over how to maintain in power the coalition that led the revolution (and which naturally defines itself as essential to its preservation) while maintaining an openness of access to political power (c.f. recent debates in Nicaragua). This exhibit sought to make the origins of the Constitution accessible to modern folk, but for all its trappings of involvement, it in fact places the document on a pedestal and promotes veneration rather than understanding.

Media bias

When right-wingers like Reed Irvine press forward with astounding claims that the mainstream media are populated by ultra-liberals and even crypto-Bolsheviks, chances are they will cite studies by Robert and Linda Lichter. A few years ago the Lichters, wallowing in the usual mush of social scientific "objectivity," conducted surveys proposing the view that most of the reporting elite are only a couple of steps to the right of Trotsky. The truth, as anyone capable of turning on a TV set or opening a newspaper knows well, is that reporters maintain about the same revolutionary profile as Sen. Bill Bradley.

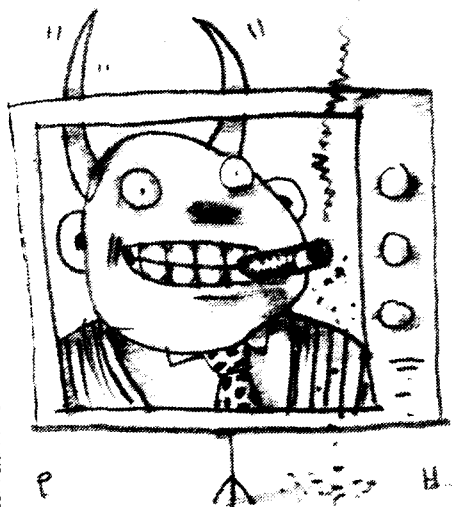
The Lichters are now the co-directors of the Washington-based Center for Media and Public Affairs, which describes itself as a "non-profit, non-partisan research institute, which itself takes no position on policy issues." From this institute has come a fairly predictable stream of Lichter-style research. One recent handout was headed "Scientists Say Chernobyl Won't Happen Here," with a clutch of pro-nuclear power findings filling up the page, as in "A majority [from a poll of 580 scientists selected randomly from *American Men and Women of Science*] of 56 percent believe nuclear plants will be 'very important' in meeting America's future energy needs... 71 percent rate a Chernobyl-type accident as improbable here... 66 percent regard U.S. nuclear plants as currently safe. Robert Lichter concludes that the center's poll shows that Chernobyl had no apparent effect on the scientific community's belief in the safety of American nuclear plants."

You can gauge something of the institute's likely predilections by the sort of friends it has. Back in 1984 the Lichters were canvassing support for the center. Among the mail they generated—which I'm glad to disclose here—was a testimonial from Edwin Meese, at that time counselor to the president. Meese wrote that a center set up by the Lichters would be "a valuable addition...to a better understanding of the role the media plays in the shaping of the national agenda and public opinion."

Faith Whittlesey, still at the White House in the spring of 1984 before she went as an activist Reaganite ambassador to Switzerland, wrote that the Lichters "have confirmed what many of us always suspected about the worldview of journalists but it is good to have the objective data." Pat Robertson, president of the Christian Broadcasting Network, wrote that "your center deserves to be funded by every citizen in this country who is concerned about the influence of both print media and television." Even more ecstatic was Pat Buchanan, just about to become director of communications for Reagan, who said that the Lichters had made "an invaluable contribution to America's understanding of inherent media bias and prejudice."

But best of all, from the Lichters' point of view, was a letter sent on April 23, 1985, from President Reagan himself, who said with his usual incisiveness that the Lichters' work was "scholarly not partisan" and that "perfect objectivity may be beyond the reach of human nature, but fairness should be demanded of everyone."

Perhaps, therefore, it is not entirely surprising that two years later the center's "Media Monitor" should be saying sourly of news coverage of the Tower Commission's



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Report that "Questions of leadership and legality dominated the news agenda at the expense of policy debates"; that networks were using unnamed sources, and that "one story in six finished with a zinger—a closer with negative spin.... Negative closers were eight times as numerous as positive ones."

This is how the downward spiral of media conservatism is fortified. The Lichters, powerfully backed by Reagan and the others, turn out reports that tend to validate right-wing conspiracy theory. These reports get rushed in front of media executives, particularly in television, who then tremble at charges of fostering the leftist conspiracy and redouble their vigilance against liberal contagion.

But let us leave the Lichters on a note of uplift. One of their more anguished reports recently bewailed the fact that TV entertainment portrays business as corrupt and businessmen as villains, and that whereas before 1965 two-thirds of the corporate executives shown on TV were good guys, that figure was cut in half during the following decade. (This, don't forget, was the decade that saw the rise of Nader's consumer movement and that ended with titans of the Fortune 500 sadly confessing the nefarious practices in contributing to Nixon's slush funds.)

Today, say the Lichters, businessmen on prime-time programs are portrayed twice as negatively as characters in other occupations, commit crimes three times as often, do 40 percent of the murders committed by characters with census-listed occupations and are motivated by greed five times as often as other characters. Among shows portraying government business relations, more than 80 percent portray business as too powerful.

This is one of the most uplifting accounts of prime-time TV I have seen in years.

Bloomsday at the FCC

There was tremendous uproar recently when the Federal Communications Commission warned WBAI against broadcasting its annual Bloomsday readings from James Joyce's *Ulysses*, on June 16. The Pacifica Foundation, in light of the FCC's recent radio crackdown, had decided to query the FCC on its attitude to Molly's bedroom musings. At first FCC Commissioner James Quello said he thought the stuff was "probably indecent," and that the explicit language was "stuff you deck someone over. I'm amazed it made it as a classic."

Among those reacting angrily to Quello's

remarks was Patrick Pritchett, of Huntington Beach, Calif., who wrote to Quello in hot protest giving a history of the attempts to suppress *Ulysses* and asking Quello to "read *Ulysses* first, at least, rather than rely on the ill-informed opinions of lower-echelon flunkies or the frightened recommendations of fundamentalist school boards."

Quello seems to have followed Pritchett's advice, and—following Pritchett's example, sent me a copy of this response to Pritchett. It is, I'm bound to admit, rather spirited and worth quoting at length as an example of the fact that a regulatory Reaganaut can have a sense of humor.

Federal Communications Commission
Washington, DC 20554
Office of Commissioner
James H. Quello

June 2, 1987

Dear Mr. Pritchett:

In your letter of May 27, 1987, you attempt to vilify me as an instrument of "the self-appointed guardians of morality" who are seeking to "suppress great works of literature such as *Huckleberry Finn*, *The Catcher in the Rye* and many others in the name of narrow-minded paranoid moralism."

In a Request for Ruling, Pacifica Foundation announced that it had "scheduled for broadcast the reading of a text which contains the following words and phrases: 'kissing my bottom,' 'frig' ing,' 'come three or four times with that tremendous big red brute of a thing,' 'spunk,' 'put it in to me from behind...like the dogs do it,' 'wash in my piss,' 'titties,' 'fuck,' 'shit,' 'my hole is itching me,' 'lovely young cock,' 'fucked yes and damn well fucked too,' 'stick his tongue seven miles up my hole,' 'lick my shit.' While the pleading from Pacifica suggested neither the context nor the work in question, some of the Commission's "ill-informed...lower-echelon flunkies" immediately recognized it as *Ulysses*. The fact that those words were used in Joyce's *Ulysses*, of course, does not suggest that they could not be used in a quite different context. Since the Commission, at that time, was not provided with the context, my initial judgment was limited by the information provided. Of course, I must reserve final judgment until I have thoroughly reviewed the totality of the record.

Your discourse on Judge Woolsey's vintage obscenity ruling is interesting but irrelevant. It simply makes no difference that the language in context is not obscene since we were talking indecency and a statute prohibiting it during times when children can be expected to be listening to the radio and being exposed to language or material that depicts or describes in terms patently offensive as measured by contemporary community standards for broadcasting sexual or excretory activities or organs and so yes we must use that test and not Miller to find the broadcast to be indecent or not. I concluded the Commission can make no obscenity findings but must consider under the case law whether the language is indecent and broadcast at a time of the day when young children yes innocent babes are likely to hear and we must make a de-

termination based on the record before us and that's the law, Mr. Pritchett, whatever you may think and whether you want it enforced I am sworn to uphold the law and enforce it and yes I say yes I will yes.

Sincerely,
James H. Quello

And what happened to WBAI's Bloomsday readings? In the end Quello and the FCC told the station, yes you can yes you can yes.

Fashion notes

A couple of weeks in England, dominated by the elections, showed me that even cities as hidebound as London can change rapidly. Six years ago the Soho district was even sleazier than I remembered it from a generation ago, with low-rent sex shops vying for space with burger joints and other emblems of a world on the wane. The Thatcherite boom in the south has changed all that. Vibrant yuppies leap in and out of brasserie-style restaurants (poached turbot with broad beans; lamb chops with tri-color peppercorns etc., etc.) and the whores' stoops are being driven out by advertising agencies. The big thing among disaffected youth is to wear t-shirts emblazoned with gigantic hammers and sickles, cyrillic letters and other iconic referents to the workers' state. I asked one fellow with the letterhead of the Soviet Communist Party and Gorbachov's head all over his chest whether he was a Communist. "Nah," he replied. "I can't read their books. Too effing boring. But this stuff really pisses off those fucking Thatcherites."

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Untangling contradictions, seeking the real McKay

Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance

By Wayne Cooper
Louisiana State University, 441 pp., \$29.95

By Warren Karlenzig

NOT LONG BEFORE HIS DEATH in 1948 writer Claude McKay, once a leader of the Harlem Renaissance, categorically denounced his literary output, his radical politics and all his former associates in favor of Catholicism.

For 30 years McKay had evolved through various incarnations: a dialect poet in his native Jamaica; an editor of the radical Greenwich Village publication *Liberator*; a successful "Harlem" novelist who actually lived abroad for 12 years and wrote from the USSR, Europe and North Africa. In McKay's final years he was a bitter man, rejected and misunderstood, alienated by poverty, political persecution and illness.

Perhaps even more perplexing than the tumultuous life of McKay was the lack of biographical information necessary to piece it together decisively. Until the recent release of Wayne Cooper's *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance*, there was no biography on McKay.

Overlooked Renaissance man: This is astounding considering that McKay tried to rally black political force, "Black Power," decades before it became a widespread strategy (his poem "If We Must Die," now a classroom standard, was written in reaction to the 1919 racial riots in Chicago and East St. Louis). And McKay, one of the first blacks to have a best-selling novel (*Home to Harlem*, 1928), could not then or now be easily dismissed as inconsequential—especially considering his illustrious acquaintances such as Upton Sinclair, Leon Trotsky, Langston Hughes, George Bernard Shaw, Alain Locke, Ernest Hemingway, Countee Cullen, Charlie Chaplin and Louise Bryant.

Harlem Renaissance writers such as Zora Neale Hurston and Langston Hughes (the latter greatly admired McKay) are getting major recognition today. But McKay never seemed to materialize as a literary force in his own day, as Hughes did, nor has he been the subject of a posthumous revival, the case with Hurston.

It is mostly the lack of a unifying genre in McKay's work, and in his life, that appears to have hindered any large-scale literary appreciation.

The volatile McKay could be gentle, humorous and encouraging, but also seems to have irreparably damaged his own reputation with perpetual denunciations of virtually everyone he knew.

The art of begging: McKay's life was blighted by periods of deep poverty. Before he became well-known, he was often living off benefactors' finances, acquired through what he called "begging letters." He was in the same situation after the Harlem Renaissance ended and the Great Depression began.

Cooper, who formerly edited a collection of McKay's prose and poetry, devoted 20 years to the task of researching and writing this biography. Unfortunately, the strict chronology he adopts, though it may aid researchers, might also hinder readers unfamiliar with McKay.

McKay was born in the lush hill country of Jamaica to a respected land-owning family. His first efforts at poetry, mostly in the sonnet form (a result of the British educational influence in Jamaica) were as a child.

By his teens he had become well

known in Jamaica as a dialect poet—thanks in part to the encouragement of "English gentleman" Walter Jekyll, the first of McKay's many mentors. (Cooper suggests that McKay may have had an affair with Jekyll, who helped him get his first two books

LITERATURE

published. Whatever the case, Cooper cites ample evidence of McKay's homosexuality throughout—yet another long-obscure facet of the enigmatic writer's personality. McKay left Jamaica in 1912 to attend Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. Student life was not for McKay, however, and after dropping out of Tuskegee and Kansas State he found his way to New York City. McKay never returned to Jamaica, and the longing for his native land remained a recurring theme in his writings.

In New York McKay was published in *Pearson's Magazine* and *Liberator*, which succeeded the infamous publication *Masses*—a smorgasbord of radical politics and

literature, which was banned by the U.S. government for being too critical of U.S. involvement in World War I. At *Liberator*, McKay met Max Eastman, the charismatic chief editor who to McKay seemed the "composite personality of *Masses* and *Liberator*." Though the two men had intense differences throughout their lifelong friendship, McKay came to depend heavily on Eastman.

Over there: McKay spent 12 years in exile in Moscow, Petrograd (Leningrad), Berlin, France, Spain and Morocco. He followed in the footsteps of Eastman, John Reed and a number of other American radicals who came to the Soviet Union on official visits after the Revolution of 1917.

While in Russia, McKay was accepted as a delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Third Communist International in 1922, where he spoke on the racial problems underlying the American Communist movement. He asserted that any advances among black workers could not be made until prejudices were overcome among white Communist members.

In McKay's 1937 autobiography, *A Long Way from Home*, he denied ever speaking at the Congress. McKay, who had turned away from communism after he left the USSR in 1923, thought his radical past might make things more difficult for him after he returned to the U.S. In 1934, McKay and Eastman both came under fire from the American left for their attacks on the Stalin regime—forcing the duo to take shelter together from Popular Front criticism. Yet while in the Soviet Union, McKay, one of the first

writer above all else. When his political forays began to detract from his work, he left the Soviet Union and settled in France, where he worked on sketches for what would become *Home to Harlem*, one of the major works of the Harlem Renaissance.

Springtime for Harlem: The Harlem Renaissance was an artistic flourishing in the black community of literature, dance, music and the visual arts that began in the early '20s when McKay published two books of poetry, *Spring in New Hampshire* (1920) and the pivotal *Harlem Shadows* (1922). *Home to Harlem*, a work filled with the warm urgency of a black soldier's return to Harlem after World War I, captured unblinkingly the characters of the streets: con men, homosexuals, drug addicts, sadomasochists, pimps; heavy drinking and gaming types with names like "Strawberry Lips" and "Zeddy."

McKay, like his contemporaries Hughes and Jean Toomer, believed in depicting life exactly as observed, or, when possible, life as experienced. This was diametrically opposed to the point of view of the Urban League's Alain Locke and writer W.E.B. Du Bois who felt that such subject matter would demean instead of advance blacks. Du Bois, in a review of *Home to Harlem*, said after reading it he felt distinctly unclean and in need of a bath.

But *Home to Harlem* had many supporters, and helped to solidify the Harlem Renaissance during its glory days, which came to an abrupt halt when the Great Depression hit. McKay published two more novels, *Banjo* (1929), a thematically uneven though stylistically noteworthy predecessor to the Beat novels, and *Banana Bottom* (1933). *Banana Bottom* has been critically acclaimed, but flopped upon its publication during the darkest days of the Depression, which McKay was oblivious to, secluded in Morocco at the time.

Cooper documents McKay's life with an impressive array of sources including interviews with McKay's only daughter (the result of a short-lived marriage, his only attempt at matrimony), Max Eastman and many others who knew McKay.

Too often, however, Cooper fails to let sources do the talking. Instead of lively personal recollections, the reader is presented interview information in the author's too-economical narrative. Surely Max Eastman and others had a more colorful account of McKay than Cooper allows to come through.

Yet Cooper's biography has overcome many difficulties and one obstacle in particular that had heretofore proven insurmountable. Namely, Claude McKay himself. ■

Warren Karlenzig is a Chicago-based writer.

Claude McKay: a rebel with too many causes?



The lack of a unifying genre in McKay's work has hindered large-scale literary appreciation. But the volatile McKay also hurt his reputation with perpetual verbal attacks on nearly everyone he knew.

blacks in the country after the Revolution, was treated like a hero. He met personally with Trotsky and other leaders and was showered with privileges and attention.

"The photograph of my black face was everywhere among the highest Soviet rulers, in the principal streets, adorning the walls of the city..." wrote McKay.

But McKay considered himself a

Celebrating Bird: The Triumph of Charlie Parker

By Gary Giddins
William Morrow, 128 pp., \$15.95

"music so-called"

—clue for "bebop" in a *New York Times* crossword puzzle, 1955

By Eric Lott

AT A TIME WHEN THE EXPERT but stolid classicism of Wynton Marsalis is riding a bull market, it's good to be reminded that jazz has sometimes been a dangerous art. As World War II came to a close and American popular culture found itself flushed with hollow patriotism, sentimentality and chuckle-headed cliché, a group of city kids shuttling between New York, Chicago and L.A. were copping a new attitude.

Early innovations in jazz had been domesticated to formula by band-leaders, mostly white, cashing in on the bland compromises of "swing." The new music—speedy, cutting, nervous and brilliant—reclaimed jazz and dominated the postwar scene. This generational revision of jazz language came to be known as bebop, and initially it affronted all but fellow musicians who realized that the rug had suddenly been yanked from under them, and that they'd better go find it.

Gary Giddins' glossy new biography *Celebrating Bird: The Triumph of Charlie Parker* is less interested in the affront than in the chief rug-puller. "At 25, [Parker] was the acknowledged leader of a new music; at 30, his brilliance was recognized by musicians around the world; at 34, when he died, he was regarded as an elder statesman who had yet to be superseded by his descendants. No sooner was he buried—in Easter season—than the graffiti appeared: *Bird lives!*"

Hit and myth: If there's an argument to the book, it's that the myths surrounding this much-mythical figure—"the world's greatest junkie"—muddy the tremendous achievement of the man's music. Giddins delivers the alto saxophonist from legend by detailing known and newly discovered facts about his wives, mentors, missteps and important improvisational moments. The author's passion for his subject is unobscured by excessive devotion or hipster exclusivity, and he helps suggest, in the process, what a radical aesthetic bebop was.

Born in 1920, Bird grew up in the rich musical atmosphere of '30s Kansas City, which was then financed by an outlandish array of racketeers with no interest in the music. Virtually every great jazz musician of the period swept through town at one time or another, either with territory bands like the Blue Devils or Jay McShann, or with more famous orchestras—Duke Ellington, Fletcher Henderson, Jimmy Lunceford.

Despite this wealth of example, Bird suffered multiple early embarrassments, including one jam ses-



Soaring in Birdland: a playful modernism

sion at which the great Jo Jones, soon to be the drummer for the Basie band, dismissed the faltering Parker by sending a cymbal crashing at his feet. Bird was just 16, however, and his training in such company was soon to pay off.

Not exactly a prodigy, Bird was nevertheless displaying genius by age 17. He woodshedded, as they say, and in a very short time a sea change had occurred: "In less than three years he had metamorphosed from a bright, ingenious kid—partial to the usual childish diversions, indifferently fond of music—to a disheveled musician, convinced of his own destiny, yet reckless with the appetites that could only undermine his future." Stealing the proverbial freight train to Chicago in 1938, and soon thereafter landing in New York, Parker made rhythmic and harmonic discoveries in the next few years—based on the lessons of tenor man Lester Young and pianist Art Tatum, respectively—that would place him at the

center of a movement.

A war of attitude: Few knew about the new music because of a recording ban the head of the musicians' union had called in 1942. When the ban was lifted two years later, bebop—developed almost in secrecy—served notice to commerce and cliché alike that a war

Those who took Charlie Parker and bebop musicians seriously saw a black art being made entirely on its own terms. It didn't protest, but the sound of defiance is unmistakable.

of attitude and rhythm had been declared. According to Giddins, those who heard the music at the Three Deuces in New York in 1944 or at Billy Berg's in L.A. the following year compared the experience to the premier of Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*. The great modernisms were distinguished in their capacity to offend, and bebop was no exception.

The stage manners and the music seemed assaultive and abrupt. Drummers Kenny Clarke and Max Roach no longer thumped-thumped the bass drum four beats per bar, substituting instead the live, shimmering pulse of ride and hi-hat cymbal. Bassists like Oscar Pettiford no longer simply walked time, they provided melodic coun-

JAZZ

terpoint to the soloists. Bud Powell, Duke Jordan and other pianists discarded the full-bodied approximation of an orchestra for a series of jagged chords and horn-like, linear solos.

And the cold, vibrato-less edge of Parker's tone, the high intervallic leaps, the penchant for going double-time at a moment's notice, the breathtaking, audacious intelligence with which he cut up his phrases, became the single largest influence on jazz since Louis Armstrong's trumpet and voice 20 years before. "Ko Ko," from 1945 (found on *Bird/The Savoy Recordings*) was his first triumph: a flawlessly ordered display of speed and swinging virtuosity.

Black music, Amiri Baraka wrote, results not simply from technique but from more or less specific ways of thinking about the world. In "Ko Ko" the velocity, brashness and will of in-the-moment songmaking proclaim the ability of disciplined imagination to triumph gleefully over time and circumstance. Bird knew that if you proved equal to the air, you could ride it.

Indeed, Giddins is convinced that what Bird's contemporaries continually asserted was true: the three-minute formalist of the 78 RPMs "raged luminously, almost recklessly, for the pleasure of an eager audience," he could play any piece in any key, and though he had trademark licks and transitions, he never repeated himself.

Bird was so quick-witted he not only instantly imitated sounds echoing in from the street—car engines, horns—but quoted melodies of lyrical relevance to the moment, nodding to a blue-clad woman with "Alice Blue Gown," or to someone headed for the restroom with "I Know Where You're Going." His inspiration was unfettered, and remained so almost until the end, when the cycle of middle-class propriety, furtive dope connections, asylum stints and exhaustive genius finally wasted him early in 1955.

A man and a movement: Emphasizing Parker's personal genius, however, as any biography must,

understates the collective creation of the new aesthetic. In this respect jazz criticism risks duplicating the mistakes of literary studies, which is still dominated by the notion of history as a string of representative men. Bebop was a group solution not only to a rich tradition gone harmonically and rhythmically stale, but also to the postwar social situation. Blacks found themselves denied the rights they had fought for overseas and grew increasingly impatient with token advances (the '40s saw a resurgence of black rioting).

Black writers broached the subject, sometimes brilliantly, but often only to embroil themselves in a state-of-the-race debate that restricted their talents. Jazz modernism provided possibilities of expression not confined by the general public discourse on race. If bebop was not, often, regarded as music worth caring about (critics sniped and audiences tittered), those who took the music seriously saw a black art being made on entirely its own terms. It didn't protest, but the sound of defiance is unmistakable.

Bebop, in fact, created or registered a small oppositional public (much as punk did in the late '70s) an alliance of black and white bohemia dedicated to zoot-suited resistance to the postwar consensus. Giddins insists that the musicians weren't interested in shocking anybody, just dedicated to their art. But judging from the critical outrage, art in this case was enough. I would argue that Bird, Thelonius Monk, Dizzy Gillespie, *et al.*, were a group of declassé black intellectuals wedged uncomfortably but crucially between traditional intellectuals on one hand and the cultural non-program of the Communist Party (the affiliation of many black intellectuals) on the other. Their advances took Afro-American expressive culture further than most others were in a position to take it, politically more valuable than a dozen socialist realist narratives.

Giddins tells the story of a Communist Party benefit Bird played in 1952. During a break, as CPer Paul Robeson sang "Water Boy," Bird trotted scandalously toward the stage with a glass of water. For me, that one joke measures the distance between the considerable lame-nesses of folkie internationalism and a serious but irreverent black art. At certain points, art beats politics at its own game. Which is, finally, the importance of the cult of smack and the eighth-note, of the cocked beret and the hip code: a politics of style beyond consensus or protest, mapping northern social facts like migration, higher wages, and a lower tolerance for racist jive with an uncompromising art.

Music so-called: how else could the *Times* have put it? ■

Eric Lott is a New York-based writer and frequent contributor to *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES JULY 8-21, 1987 19

IN THE ARTS

By Peggy Seeger

THE CANNES FILM FESTIVAL HAS sun and glamour, Berlin has snow and socially relevant cinema, and most major U.S. cities have festivals and series that showcase new films from the East, the West and the South of both hemispheres.

Yet each year, the Asian American International Film Festival (AAIFF) in New York manages to present an unrivaled collection of works by Asian and Asian-American filmmakers—with very little of the hype, hoopla or pretense that sometimes accompanies more prestigious film events.

The AAIF celebrated its first decade last month with a five-day festival in New York's Chinatown, where theaters most often program martial arts mayhem from Hong Kong or costume epics from Taiwan.

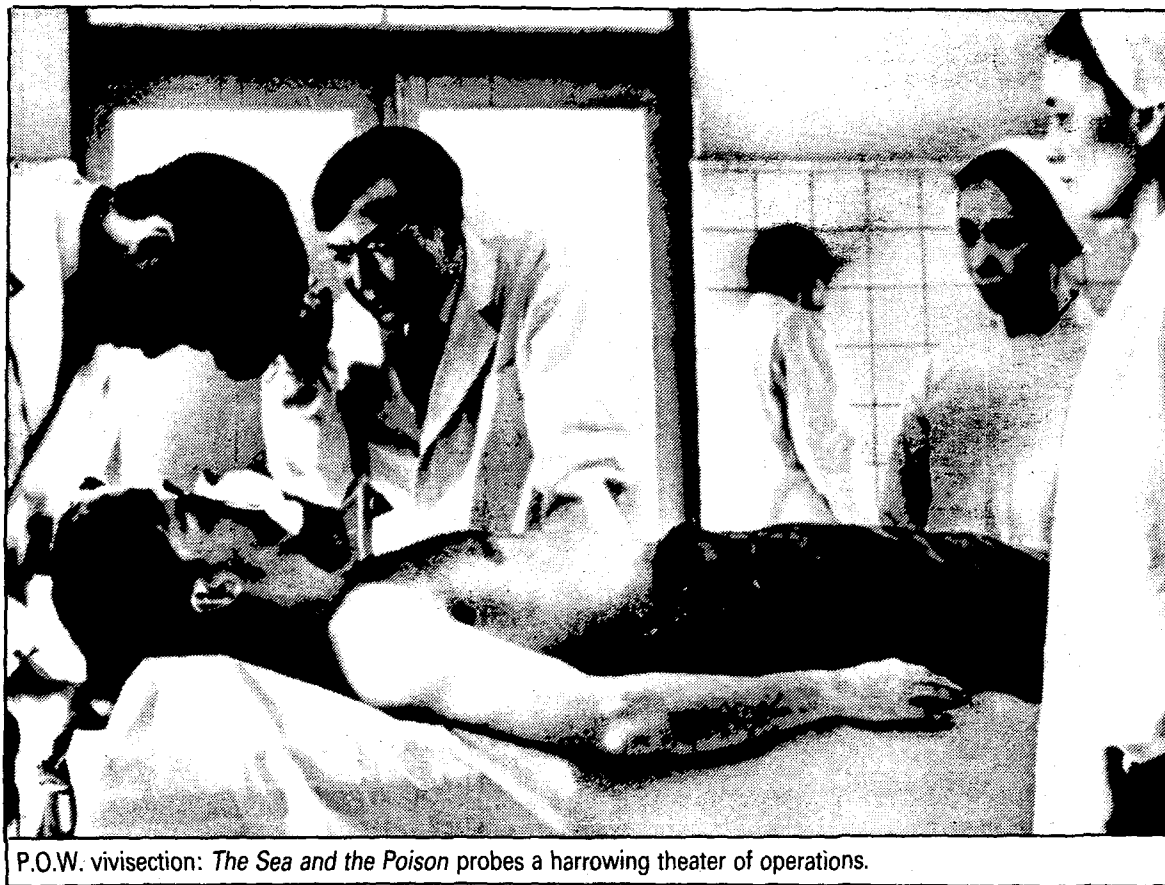
This year's festival honored Wayne Wang—director of the first Chinese-American crossover film, *Chan Is Missing*—on opening night with a reception and a showing of the film. It also paid tribute to actress Anna May Wong, the first Asian-American to portray an Asian character, with a screening of *Toll of the Sea*, her silent classic shot in red and green, the first successful two-strip technicolor film.

Rare quality: Organized by Asian CineVision, a New York media group, the festival offers audiences in the city and across the nation (on its subsequent tour) a unique opportunity to view sophisticated, award-winning feature films from directors not normally distributed commercially. These films are rarely included in festivals in this country and are often controversial in their own. The festival also includes short features, documentaries, experimental and animated films from Asian artists worldwide.

Among the 31 films shown were impressive features from Japan, China, Taiwan, the Philippines, India, Indonesia and Thailand. The two most powerful films—thematically, artistically and politically—are also the most controversial in their home countries.

One, an austere, black-and-white Japanese film is based on a true incident of vivisection performed on American soldiers in World War II, took the director 17 years to finance. The other, a Chinese comedy about the disastrous effects of entrenched party bureaucracy on modernization and on one individual's psyche, took longer for the government to approve distribution than it did to make.

The Sea and the Poison recreates an incident at an urban medical school on the eve of Japan's surrender. Amidst nightly U.S. bombings of the city, a group of surgeons, hoping to advance their academic careers, agree to perform experi-



P.O.W. vivisection: *The Sea and the Poison* probes a harrowing theater of operations.

Pacific overtures: controversy at home and away for new Asian films

mental operations on eight captured U.S. airmen.

Kei Kumai, a veteran director interested in both social issues and romantic love stories, uses this situation to explore questions of

FILM

conscience for ordinary men faced with extraordinary ethical questions. He focuses not on the surgeons but on two young interns who participate in the operations. **Chilling familiarity:** Suguro (Eiji Okuda) tries to save both an old tubercular patient in the public ward and his own idealism. When the patient dies in a raid, the intern is overwhelmed by a despair in the face of war, the monumental indifference and selfishness of his colleagues and a personal sense of powerlessness. His colleague Toda (Ken Watanabe) is a pragmatist who repeatedly justifies the actions of his superiors with reasons that resound with chilling familiarity.

Kumai creates one of the most shocking episodes on film—with no gore—in the vivisection scene. In an authentic operating theater of the period, military officers splash around in water that covers the floor to wash away the blood. They take pictures of the anesthetized subject while the doctors methodically and routinely cut into the healthy body, removing pieces of pulsating lung.

The Black Cannon Incident, the first satirical comedy produced in China in 30 years, was directed by Huang Jianxin, one of the "fifth generation" of filmmakers—as China's new wave artists are called. The

first graduates from film school since the Cultural Revolution, they are more interested in personal stories, psychological issues and daring cinematography than in preaching ideology.

Working in small, independent studios in the hinterlands of Mongolia and on the Vietnamese border, or in the "progressive" Xian studio, they are taking financial and political risks. Their films, which often criticize the Party, realistically portray peasants or deal with human sexuality, have to be approved by the government film

The festival offers an unrivaled collection of Asian and Asian-American movies.

bureau before the crew is paid. And any new productions must be financed with profits.

Winner of the Golden Rooster, China's Oscar, *The Black Cannon Incident* begins during an ominous storm with the dispatch of an obscure telegram about a missing black cannon. This initiates a secret investigation of its sender, Zhao Shuxin (Liu Zifeng), a technical translator working on a joint mining project with a German engineer. Zhao comes under suspicion as much for who he is—a trusting, diligent, middle-aged bachelor of Catholic background who has a sincere friendship with a foreigner.

The confused Zhao is replaced on the mining project by a tour guide, which leads to a frustrating and ruinous series of misunderstandings. Huang's humor barely veils the film's underlying anger.

A Marxist granny: The fates of Zhao and the project are argued by the company's paranoid Party secretary (who describes herself as a Marxist granny) and the practical manager who wants to get the expensive equipment installed. Numerous Party meetings are set in a room dominated by a huge black wall clock that creates an atmosphere reminiscent of Kubrick.

Huang uses stylized photography and humorous background incidents to accentuate the contradictions in modern Chinese society. Mammoth, bright-orange earth-moving equipment frames ludicrous discussions or bears down on frantic Party members; policemen remove overly-enthusiastic fans responding to a suggestive rock performance; soccer players engage in a boisterous melee on the field. And in one startling scene, Huang has the disconsolate Zhao actually seek solace in a church.

The five other films from South and Southeast Asia that will tour the U.S. are similar to each other in theme and execution and share an almost literary quality in their attention to detail and characterization. The filmmakers illustrate the lives of their characters and their people and the particular social conditions that shape their lives—family, religion, poverty, traditions and Western influences—using their own distinct cultural resources.

Dust in the Wind (Taiwan) is director Hou Xiaoxian's diary of a country boy's coming of age in the city of Taipei. Filmed with a tender consideration of the characters' feelings and the details of their lives, the film is slow, yet intimate and engaging. Hou's unusual framing, often placing action in the background while he focuses the camera on settings or routine activities, creates the realism that characterizes a new wave of Taiwanese films.

Damortis (Philippines), the first part of a trilogy by new director Briccio Santos, explores the influence of religion, ritual and rural existence on the Philippine psyche. It is an occult tale about two faith healers whose psychic powers are distorted by lust and greed.

Raosahab (India) is the debut film of Vijaya Mehta, an actress and director in experimental theater for 20 years. Set in rural India in the '20s, it portrays the conflict between tradition and reform in the relationship between a beautiful and courageous young widow and the British-educated barrister who encourages her to reject her oppressive role and then betrays her and his lofty convictions.

Moon and Sun (Indonesia) is a mythic tale set in a small town in East Java. In his first movie, Slamet Rahardjo tries to capture his youthful belief that human beings can correct injustice by restoring the natural harmony of life. His story is of a young pimp who leaves Jakarta to fight thugs terrorizing the village he left as a teenager after impregnating his childhood sweetheart, upsetting the balance of rural existence.

House (Thailand), based on the director Chart Kobchitti's novel, is the heart-rending story of a family that goes to Bangkok to work for a home, hardly more than a shack on the outskirts of the city. While they are subjected to almost every hardship imaginable in two hours, it is a realistic, if somewhat melodramatic, depiction of a poor family struggling to hold itself together with honesty and dignity.

The festival begins a five-month tour of eight North American cities in August. At press time, the following dates and locations were confirmed: September 24-27, Washington, D.C., Asian American Arts and Media, Inc., Wendy Lim, (202) 265-1883; October 23-25, Houston, Southwest Alternate Media Project, Marian Luntz, (713) 522-8592; November 7-8, University of Colorado (Boulder), April Long, (303) 494-0805; November 15-21, University of Kansas (Lawrence), Jerry Schultz, (913) 864-3849. For information on other cities and dates (including the West Coast and Canada), call Marlina Gonzalez, Asian CineVision, (212) 925-8685.

Peggy Seeger is a freelance writer living in New York.

Full Metal Jacket
Directed by Stanley Kubrick

By Pat Aufderheide

Kubrick's shining path of black comedy

STANLEY KUBRICK IS ONE OF THE more contentious figures of American cinema. The man who made both *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* and *Barry Lyndon*, both *Paths of Glory* and *2001: A Space Odyssey* holds a special fascination for a generation of film buffs.

Kubrick is notoriously obsessive, authorial and self-consciously magisterial. If he's prone to visual pomposity and a bleak vision of humanity, he's also given power and weight to the feature entertainment film. Some saw in him the maturing of a popular art, and with *2001* Kubrick became a cult hero. Kubrick's last movie—*The Shining*—did nothing to unite critical factions.

Full Metal Jacket, his Vietnam film, has been surrounded by secrecy, awe and pre-emptive hostility in different critical quarters. The final version is both less and more than what was expected. It's a gut-wrenching war drama, and also a film that boldly ironizes its own genre. *Full Metal Jacket* dispenses with the anguish over a post-mythic war that's at the heart of *Platoon*, interpreting it confidently within the classic platoon-goes-to-war film. And yet it doesn't throw away the crisis of meaning at the center of its characters' experience. It's a story-film, with characters you can't forget; and it's also a film that creates an emotional and pictorial landscape grounding them in a greater insanity. Highly controlled, its darkest characters are those in control.

Scars and gripes forever: *Full Metal Jacket* begins with the story of boot camp, the reshaping of men into fighting machines. It's done with the full force of Kubrick's famous black humor, as the drill sergeant (an ex-Marine, Lee Erney) bullies and humiliates the raw troops mercilessly. Audience laughter turns to horror as Kubrick creates a choreography of authoritarianism. The sergeant creates his own nemesis in the form of a pathetically retarded recruit (Vincent D'Onofrio), who understands all too well what the sergeant is teaching them—that they are living in a "world of shit."

The scene then shifts to Vietnam in two neatly divided segments (Kubrick's dramatic structure is meticulous). At first with *Stars and Stripes* journalist Private Joker—we savor the war "in the rear with the gear." The journalists' office flaunts a banner that reads, "We Will Defend to the Death Our Right to Be Disinformed," and the banter bears out the banner's message.

Soon, though, we're taken with the journalist-warriors into the heat of the atypical battle of the war—the Tet offensive. It's not the typical Vietnam battle, like the final

one of *Platoon*, a struggle to stay on your feet in murk and terror. It's a classic battle, with an enemy and an objective. Not just survival but victory is at stake—in the heat of it, you can't help hoping our boys will win, no matter what you think about the war. But the victory ends with the power of the rock song, "Paint It Black."

Kubrick uses film genre with a general's self-confidence. But he doesn't, like some of the movie brats, revere it. He clearly considers himself a major artist of a form that, in the present generation of heterodox artists, is dissolving before our eyes. What he wants to say with it has always been difficult to figure out, made especially acute because of his fascination with the visual power of the medium and his sharp observation of social tension. But his war films have been the boldest meld of social insight and formal play.

Kubrick's path: This is the third in a Kubrick trilogy of war. His World War I drama set in France, *Paths of Glory* (1957), was so controversial it was banned there and cut for English distribution. The conflict it focused on, between generals and their own troops, was dramatized by contrasting sites of the film—in the trenches and the palatial officers' headquarters. It skillfully took a well-worked "humanist war film" genre (think of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *La Grande Illusion*) and gave it a savagely ironic twist.

Dr. Strangelove (1963) gave names, faces and a punchline to the horror of the era—global nuclear war. Unlike such dramas as *Fail-Safe*, it turned the political conspiracy into a dark comedy, cinema of

the absurd. It portrayed generals, scientists and politicians—the holy authorities of a nuclear war—as lethal buffoons, and gave life-and-death suspense a blackly comic taste. If the audience was in on the joke, it was also in on the long ride down on the bomb at the end.

Paths of Glory and *Dr. Strangelove* both took the stereotype out of genre, heightening with macabre humor and brutal, often visual ironies the mythic poses and narratives of war. *Full Metal Jacket* is a full equal to the others in this trilogy. The Vietnam War here is not an issue, Sidney Pollack-style, but an experience, a historically rooted one. The Snoopy icons and Mickey Mouse chants, and the music pungently ground you in the '60s moment. Pop songs of the day serve as cathartic aural jolts of alternative consciousness, as they did in the era. The war's mad logic makes

Kubrick creates a choreography of authoritarianism.

sense within the platoon-film frame, stripped of cant, false populism and cheap heroics. Instead there's cant on parade, populism as felt belief and real heroics.

The genre is sabotaged in ways that highlight our own expectations for it, and that force us beyond the easy questions (like "Who are the good guys here?"). The "wrong" people die, and live, given the plot set-ups. The opening third's grim finale—with shock techniques you'll remember from *Clockwork Orange*

and *The Shining*—is both a dead stop and a sobering entry to the war itself. The murder that ends that opening segment is a clue that the insane logic of the war is bred at home.

Moral orphans: The platoon is your familiar one-of-everybody type—with the by-now pat reminders of racism in the military and casual patronizing of Vietnamese civilians—but they don't coalesce into a heartwarming buddy-unit. Instead they're an unpredictable but surprisingly valiant collection of moral orphans, pitched willy-nilly into heroics. The classic dramatic structure to each scene contrasts with the vividly surreal subject matter and idiosyncratically rich dialogue (for which the contributions of Kubrick's co-scripter Michael Herr should probably be credited).

Kubrick focuses his rage—expressed through black humor—on the officers. The boot camp drill sergeant doesn't think it's funny when he reminds the men that Charles Whitman (the Texas tower killer) and Lee Harvey Oswald learned how to shoot in the Marines. The *Stars and Stripes* editor knows he's being funny when he tells the men the paper only does two stories—the soldier-helps-a-crippled-Vietnamese-child story and tales of victory, invented if necessary. But the humor doesn't hit him the way it hits us—or reporter Private Joker (Matthew Modine's wry smile and Midwestern cheer are perfect for the part).

The soldiers carry the sense of confusion and cost, and are the heroes in spite of themselves, partly because they acknowledge what the officers cannot afford to. Private Joker wears a peace button at the same time he has "Born to Kill" written on his helmet. Asked by an irascible officer what he means by that, he responds in militarese that he believed he was

trying to make a philosophical statement.

The other soldiers in the platoon, as seen in interviews they give to armed-forces and commercial TV, don't have nearly as sophisticated a reaction. They're deeply resentful of the civilians' ingratitude, and take it out on the local prostitutes as they beat down their prices. They have contempt for the South Vietnamese forces—one says, "We're shootin' the wrong gooks." Another muses for the camera, "I guess they'd rather be alive than free." They just don't believe what the officers do—that inside every Vietnamese there's an American trying to get out. These soldiers are not good or bad; their presumptuous innocence can be appalling, their crassness ugly, their fierce loyalty and heroics moving. They're American kids, with rifles and penises and dreams.

The inside story: The Vietnamese themselves stay strictly on the other side of the camera. We see them only as the soldiers see them—baffling, sneaky, superb fighters, worthy enemies and unworthy allies. As in Kubrick's other war films, the war takes place inside "our side."

There's an Olympian tone to *Full Metal Jacket*. It's the work of someone who's in love, or maybe lust, with the power of movies. Kubrick started out as a photo-documentarist (with *Look*), and visual effect has sometimes been his own worst enemy (think of *Barry Lyndon*). Here he makes it the agent of his drama. The choreography of men at drill or tanks on the march; the sets replicating Hue (constructed, hard to believe, from the ground up in Wales) with bombed-out hulks and shattered ruins standing as an iconography of debacle; the deliberately spectacular use of light, especially in battle; the leering close-ups—all are reminders of Kubrick's power.

At the same time, they remind you of the charges of Kubrick's coldness, his distance from the human horror he is driven to probe. *Full Metal Jacket* is told from the narrative distance from which you can oversee the action (not the psychological closeup or the first-person intensity of *Platoon*, this film's only serious rival among Vietnam films). It locks you into the passionate drive of the officers, the hapless commitment of the men, the ineluctable tragedy of the battle. And it shows you it all as a dance of death, one with a particular and cruel necessity.

Full Metal Jacket is not an "anti-war film," any more than *Paths of Glory* or *Dr. Strangelove* were. Taking us into the self-styled war machine, he implacably shows us the people inside it, with terrifying energy and without moral prescription. In Vietnam, Kubrick has a subject to match his cynicism, that dark vision informed by idealism and wracked by despair. ■

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Full Metal Jacket offers clues that the insane logic of war is bred at home.



Goetz

Continued from page 3

we feel it is absolutely necessary that we patrol our own to protect ourselves."

The head of New York's Black United Front, Jitu Weusi, noted that the killings of Willie Turks in Brooklyn, of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach and the acquittal of Goetz has awakened "even the most apathetic black resident of this city to the truth of New York City racism." The police killings of Eleanor Bumpers and Michael Stewart, he said, are additional evidence that blacks are considered fair game.

Even so-called moderate leadership like Father Lawrence Lucas, a black Catholic priest who heads Harlem's Resurrection Church, is issuing a hard line. "The entire fiasco of the Goetz trial, including the press treatment, should demonstrate beyond the shadow of any reasonable doubt that African-Americans cannot depend on the system

to defend them or to punish those who murder or injure them," he said. "The conclusion is quite clear: African-Americans must be prepared and be willing to defend themselves against murdering police officers and white civilians."

Do something quick! The remaining voices of moderation are urging drastic action of another kind. Manhattan Borough President Dinkins has called for a massive city-wide initiative to attack the problems responsible for the increasing racial tensions. "Before more people act in response to these irrational judgments, the leadership of this city should quickly join efforts to eliminate the prejudice and discrimination that grow from this unwarranted fear," Dinkins wrote in a public statement after the Goetz verdict.

"Two decades ago, the Kerner Commission reported on the extent of discrimination and offered hard recommendations for ending it. We failed to act adequately then, but

we must not fail now. The tensions gripping the city will not disappear without a real agenda to end racism and discrimination."

Although much of New York's white leadership understands the concern of the city's black population, many seem puzzled by the unanimity and vehemence of the reaction against the Goetz ruling. Among leaders of black organizations in the city, only Roy Innis of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), who has been widely characterized as the "Jonas Savimbi of New York" because of his right-wing views (a characterization he welcomes), has applauded the Goetz verdict.

But an unscientific *In These Times* survey of blacks in both Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant revealed that many blacks supported Goetz' acquittal. Out of 30 Harlem residents, 14 said they supported Goetz' actions. In Bedford-Stuyvesant, the numbers were 12 supporters out of 40.

But the verdict hit close to home for many

middle-class blacks who, though they may be successful in their chosen fields, are still greeted with disapproving stares when approaching whites on the streets of any big city.

A piece by *New York Times* editor Brent Staples in the September '86 edition of *Ms.* magazine gingerly explained the problem faced by many dark-skinned denizens of U.S. cities. After outlining several instances in which he'd been humiliated by those who perceived him as a dire threat, Staples wrote, "Over the years, I learned to smother the rage I felt at so often being taken for a criminal. Not to do so would surely have led to madness. I now take precautions to make myself less threatening."

Among those precautions: "I whistle melodies from Beethoven and Vivaldi and the more popular classical composers. Even steely New Yorkers hunching toward nighttime destinations seem to relax, and occasionally they even join in the tune. Virtually everybody seems to sense that a mugger wouldn't be warbling bright, sunny selections from Vivaldi's Four Seasons." □

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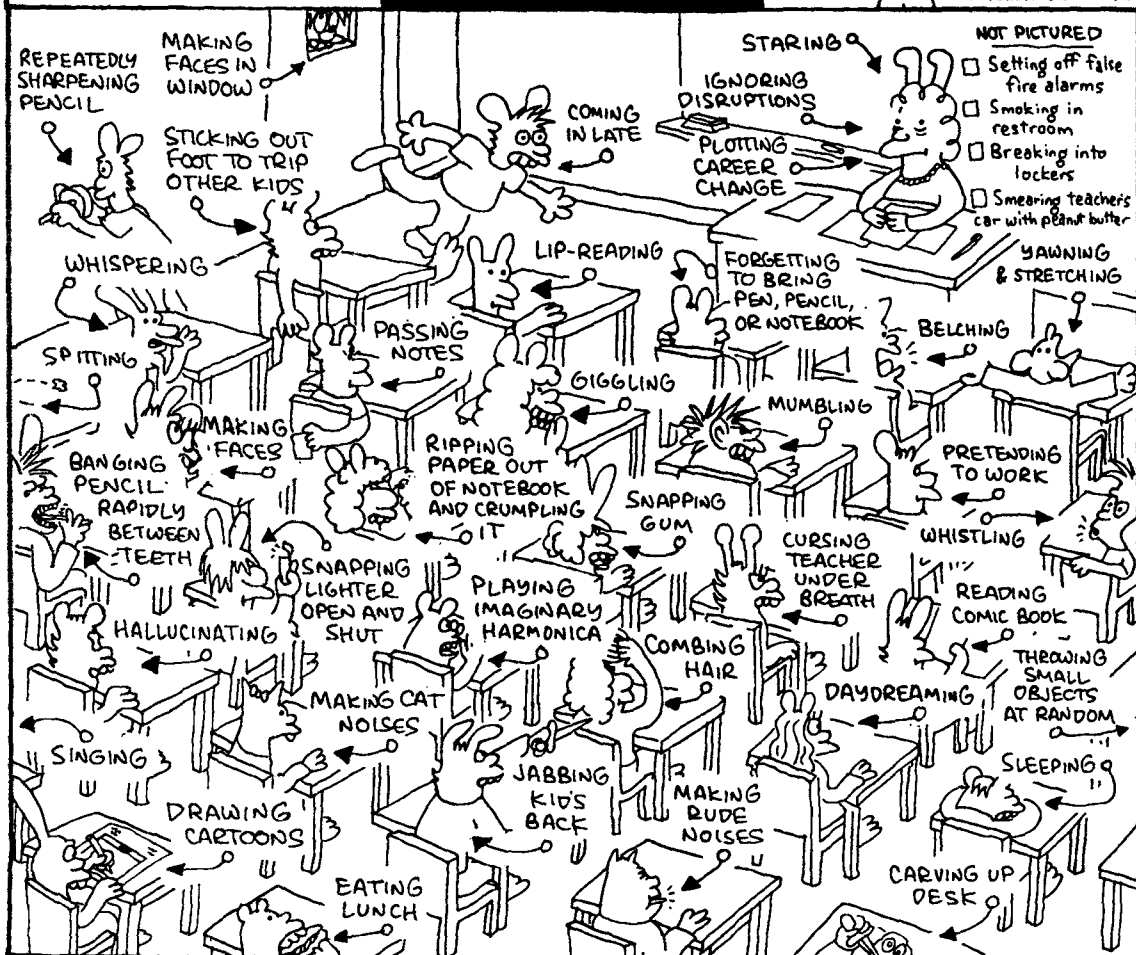
LIFE IN HELL

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SCHOOL IS HELL
THE CARTOON THAT ROAMS THE CAMPUS WITH A FORGED HALL PASS

LESSON 11:
HOW TO MAKE EVERYONE AS MISERABLE AS YOU ARE IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

THE MIXED-UP WORLD OF TODAY'S ADOLESCENT
ATTENTION SPAN OF A GNAT
HYPOCHONDRIACAL BEFORE TESTS
UNABLE TO SEE NANCY REAGAN AS SERIOUS ROLE MODEL
THINKS EVERYONE IS POINTING OUT FAULTS



IT'S BEEN 20 YEARS SINCE THE "SUMMER OF LOVE," when the cultural ferment generated by the hippie community in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district reached a crescendo, capturing the imagination of the Western world. The Haight was a magnet for tens of thousands of young people who had forsaken the Great Society for a chance to tread barefoot through the city streets, grow their hair long and partake of a lifestyle that baffled much of the American public. Nearly everything was being questioned and most things tried in an orgy of experiment that shook the nation at its roots.

Psychedelic drugs were an intrinsic part of that exotic social experiment in 1967. Many youth embraced LSD as a mind-expanding catalyst, a sacrament for inducing religious experiences. Yet 15 years earlier the same chemical was used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the United States Army as a weapon to control the mind, rather than to expand it.

Long before the love generation toddled out of its crib, America's spymasters had embarked upon a frantic quest to find the perfect truth drug that could loosen the tongues of enemy agents. Toward this end, the CIA experimented with nearly every substance that later appeared on the streets of Haight-Ashbury during the Summer of Love—marijuana, cocaine, heroin, speed, hashish, magic mushrooms, laughing gas, mescaline, downers and an alphabet soup of chemical mind-twisters: PCP, STP, DMT, MDA.

Cloak-and-dagger turn-ons: But of all the drugs scrutinized by the CIA, none provoked as much excitement as LSD, which had been invented by Swiss chemist Albert Hofmann during World War II. For a while CIA personnel were completely infatuated with the hallucinogen. Those who first tested the drug in the early '50s actually thought it would revolutionize the cloak-and-dagger trade.

For starters, LSD was more powerful than anything else they had come across. "The most fascinating thing about it," a CIA psychologist recalled, "was that such minute quantities had such a terrific effect." Mere micrograms could produce serious mental confusion, turning the toughest of specimens into quivering cowards.

The fact that LSD was non-lethal as well as odorless, colorless and tasteless (hence easily concealable in food or drink) seemed to offer unique advantages for espionage. In an effort to gather as much information about the drug as possible, the CIA began a series of "scientific" studies that were reminiscent of the experiments conducted by Nazi doctors during World War II.

In one study black prison inmates at the Lexington Narcotics Hospital in Kentucky were given LSD for 77 consecutive days. Patients at the New York State Psychiatric Institute had portions of their brain removed while under the influence of LSD in order to ascertain the effects of the drug before and after a lobotomy was performed. Others were subjected to electroshock treatment while they were high on acid.

CIA operatives also initiated a series of "in-house" tests that entailed what one participant described as "an extensive amount of self-experimentation" with LSD. "We felt that a first-hand knowledge of the subjective effects of these drugs was important to those of us who were involved in the program," a CIA official later told a Senate committee.

Spiking the CIA Christmas punch: With plenty of government acid available, things started getting a little strange at CIA headquarters. It wasn't long before a couple of jokers came up with the bright idea to put

NASTY FLASHBACKS

By Martin A. Lee

Long before Haight-Ashbury's Summer of Love, the CIA employed the "acid test" for espionage.



LSD in the punch served at the annual CIA Christmas office party. The year was 1954—a decade before Ken Kesey and the Merry Pranksters began hosting the famous Electric Kool Aid Acid Tests up and down the California coast.

Soon the CIA agents—with the help of prostitutes on the agency's payroll—were slipping LSD to unsuspecting citizens in New York and San Francisco. This was a prelude to "mission impossible" operations wherein foreign politicians were made to babble incoherently and discredit themselves in public after receiving a surreptitious dose of acid. (Fidel Castro was high on the CIA's hallucinogenic hit list, but he eluded such plots.) Another scheme involved giving LSD to an interrogation subject and threatening to keep him "crazy" forever unless he spilled the beans. This technique often proved successful when other methods had failed.

There was some concern that the Soviets or the Red Chinese might also have designs on acid as a mind-control device. What would happen if an American spy was captured and dosed by the Commies? The only way to insure that Uncle Sam's secret agents wouldn't freak out and lose their composure would be to give them a taste of LSD before they were sent on a sensitive overseas mission. An "enlightened operative," as CIA documents refer to those who had taken an acid trip, would know that the effects of the drug were only temporary and would therefore be better able to deal with the experience.

At the same time, the U.S. Army pursued an even wilder scenario. During the Cold War, top-level military brass spoke enthusiastically of LSD as a new kind of battle weapon that could incapacitate enemy battalions without killing anyone. Spray a cloud of "madness gas" over a city occupied by enemy troops

and for 10 to 12 hours everyone would be helplessly giddy, vertiginous, spaced-out; meanwhile, American GIs would move in and take over without encountering any significant resistance. The notion of "war without death" was so appealing that at one point in the late '50s Maj. Gen. William Creasy, chief officer of the U.S. Army Chemical Corps, described LSD as "the wave of the future."

To test Creasy's hypothesis, the Army initiated a series of tests at Fort Bragg, N.C., in which small military units were given EA-1729 (the code name for LSD) and asked to perform such tasks as squad drills, tank driving and anti-aircraft tracking. Meanwhile, soldiers at Edgewood Arsenal, the headquarters of the Chemical Corps, were given LSD and subjected to physical and psychological abuse that included death threats, verbal degradation, deprivation of food, drink, sleep and bathroom privileges.

More than 7,000 GIs served as guinea pigs in Army acid tests, which tapered off in the mid-'60s when attention shifted to other hallucinogenic drug candidates. Last month the Supreme Court ruled that the Army was not liable for any injuries sustained by active duty military personnel who were wittingly or unwittingly exposed to LSD or other chemical agents.

Hollywood babbling on: A promising future for LSD was also envisioned by a growing number of psychiatrists who believed that they had finally found a substance that would unravel the riddle of schizophrenia. Other doctors hailed the drug as an unparalleled therapeutic tool that could benefit a wide range of diagnostic categories, including alcoholics and terminal cancer patients. LSD was the talk of the town in Hollywood in the late '50s, as dozens of movie stars offered glowing testimonials to the wonders of psychedelic therapy.

Such hopes were projected onto the social landscape in the '60s when Timothy Leary and other counterculture proselytizers began to promote LSD as a cure-all for a sick society, an enlightenment pill that would raise the consciousness of the entire planet and send everyone gliding gallantly into the Age of Aquarius. If only President Johnson would take a tab of LSD, many an acidhead waxed effusively, then surely the war in Vietnam would be over in no time!

Yes, back in the heady days of the flower-power era there were some who thought that LSD could move mountains and melt the icecaps. Of course, these young romantics were unaware that the CIA's enlightened operatives had been dropping acid for years without being compelled to grow their hair long and proclaim the virtues of peace and love. For the national security stalwarts, LSD was strictly an instrument of covert warfare and they were doubtless astonished, if not altogether appalled, when America's wayward youth embraced acid for religious or recreational purposes.

In retrospect it may seem odd that a chemical derived from a rye fungus should have inspired such grandiose dreams. Nearly every group that got involved with LSD was captured by its magic. In their shared enthusiasm, the CIA and much of the counterculture believed that acid was the key to the big breakthrough, as if their own socio-political desires would be achieved as inevitable outcomes of the drug's remarkable mind-bending properties.

Martin A. Lee is the author of *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD and the Sixties Rebellion* published by Grove Press. He is also editor of *Extra!*, the monthly newsletter of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting).